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Crafting an outdoor classroom: the nineteenth-century roots of the outdoor education movement

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CRAFTING AN OUTDOOR CLASSROOM: THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY ROOTS OF THE OUTDOOR EDUCATION MOVEMENT

by

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is more than just the culmination of a Ph.D. program; it is the product of twenty years of professional experience in outdoor education as well as a dozen years of Scouting before that. As a result, there are decades full of contributors to the ideas presented here. As the Scoutmaster in Troop 38 in Adams, Massachusetts, Don "Bones" Girard has taught the importance of community, responsibility, and a love of adventure to generations of Scouts at the foot of Mount Greylock, including me. John Regentin of the Gettysburg Recreational Adventure Board at Gettysburg College introduced me to the professional world of experiential education when I was a student, teaching me not only the technical skills of backcountry travel, but also the importance of professionalism in the outdoors and the value of a true friend. Dr. Jasper S. Hunt, my graduate school advisor at Minnesota State University-Mankato, showed me the intellectual depth of experiential education. If all of western philosophy is a footnote to Plato, then this dissertation is certainly a footnote to Jasper Hunt.

When I started the initial scraps and sketches that were to evolve into this dissertation, I wrote them sitting at Dudley Sargent's desk, living in the cabin where he died, at the camp he founded, warmed by many a fire burning in his great stone fireplace, and watching thousands of campers play on the meadow that had once been home to the "Sargent Girls." Rob Rubendall, then director of the Sargent Center for Outdoor Education, invested time, passion, and resources into my initial research on Dr. Sargent's Camp, and with Mark Wilson and Parker Maish, spent countless hours reflecting,

discussing, and researching the importance of the camp on the field of outdoor education. Many thanks also to Dr. Cheryl Boots who, during an afternoon where we walked a dozen laps around the meadow of Sargent Camp, challenged me to think beyond Sargent and expand the scope of this project into what it eventually became.

When the economy collapsed in 2009and Boston University ceased operations of Sargent Camp, this project and my career at BU were in serious jeopardy. Dr. Jay Halfond, then Dean of Metropolitan College at BU, saw the value of experiential education in the twenty-first century and not only kept me on, but also pushed my own perspectives on the boundaries and role of experiential education in higher education. Dr. Jack McCarthy, Dr. Sandi Deacon-Carr, Dr. Lloyd Baird, and Assistant Dean Kristen McCormack of the Organizational Behavior Department at Boston University School of Management pushed those boundaries even more by welcoming me into a truly inspirational and innovative team of faculty, even when I thought OB only stood for Outward Bound.

Just as the melting snows form trickles of water which converge again and again into a mighty river, so too is this dissertation a convergence of numerous papers, classes, and the influence of brilliant faculty throughout my graduate work. Dr. Patricia Hills inspired, drove, and helped refine chapters three and four through earlier papers. Everything I know about how to read imagery I have learned from her. Dr. Cheryl Boots helped me to more deeply understand how literary fiction could influence experiential realities. Dr. Charles Capper showed me how to navigate the intellectual networks of

Transcendentalism. But the greatest academic debts I owe are to my advisor and first reader, Dr. Nina Silber and my fellow Sargent Camp alum and second reader, Dr. Will Moore. They helped me to wrangle this raging torrent of ideas into one coherent intellectual stream and for that I am extremely grateful.

Of course, the most important person in the creation of this work is my wife, Jaime. Since we first met at a camp in western Massachusetts, our lives have been one adventure after another. When we started this Ph.D., our first child was only three weeks old and throughout our entire experience as parents, she has shouldered an outsized burden in keeping the family moving forward while I was locked away in my office. As excited as I am to finish this dissertation, my real joy is that I will be able to open this office door and go have more adventures with you and the kids.

If outdoor education and this doctoral program have taught me anything, it is the value of *rugged communalism*, that it is the love and support of your community that gets you through challenging times, over summits, and through the rapids. I dedicate this dissertation to those communities of people who helped me through this grand adventure. Thank you.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the antecedents to the outdoor education movement that proliferated in the first decades of the twentieth century, arguing that it stemmed from the Romanticism that emerged in the nineteenth century. Drawing on a Romantic approach to pedagogy, early outdoor educators looked to nineteenth-century literature and art as inspiration for their educational methods, curriculum and marketing. Rejecting the concepts of "rugged individualism," these outdoor educators expressed an ideal of "rugged communalism" where concepts of selflessness, community, and democracy became the lessons learned in the outdoors.

The first chapter provides an overview of Puritan understanding of the wilderness and corresponding perspectives on childhood and education by drawing on the writings of John Winthrop, Cotton Mather, and Jonathan Edwards as well as John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and the experience of King Philip's War. The Romantic revolution as expressed by Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper and others form the basis of the second chapter. Chapter three charts the transformation of American perspectives on wilderness through the visual arts and literature, specifically those writings of Ralph

Waldo Emerson and Nathaniel Hawthorne combined with the work of Thomas Cole. This chapter also explores the White Mountain tourist industry as an expression of these ideals. The fourth chapter follows the changing conceptions of childhood throughout the nineteenth century with a focus on the image of the barefoot boy and street urchins. Chapter five discusses the development of a Transcendental pedagogy through the writings and educational experiments of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Bronson Alcott, Margaret Fuller, Henry David Thoreau, and Louisa May Alcott, including the impact of the Temple School and Brook Farm.

The second half of the dissertation addresses specific applications of experiential outdoor pedagogy. This includes the Boston Farm School on Thompson Island, Charlesbank and the playground movement in Boston, the North Bennett Street Industrial School's outdoor programs, the relationship between the Grand Army of the Republic and the Boy Scouts of America, and the impact of Dudley Allen Sargent and Sargent Camp.

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Introduction

The objective of this dissertation is to provide a deeper understanding of the history of outdoor education by tracing its pedagogic rationale and various applications in New England from the market revolution of the 1830s to the beginning of the Great Depression. Much of the historiography of the genesis of outdoor education has focused on the wealthy and upper middle class camps that emerged around 1900 and in turn is framed within paradigms of cultural hierarchy, class control, and imperialism. By deepening the chronology of outdoor education from the early twentieth century into the early nineteenth century, I will argue that outdoor education was an extension of a larger pedagogical movement rooted more in Romanticism than Imperialism. By focusing on programs largely ignored by previous scholars and discourses addressing educational and social justice ends, I will highlight those educators whose work was *Vox clamantis in deserto*.

The pedagogy of outdoor education illuminates two areas of American culture: its relationship to the natural world and its understanding of healthy child development. Encompassing summer camps, the scouting movement, physical culture, and playground programs, the early twentieth century outdoor education movement valued a verdant, ecologically diverse, lightly developed classroom over an urban, industrial landscape as the healthiest place for a child's education. Although never the dominant form of American education, the continued popularity of outdoor education points to a strain of American culture that respects wilderness and views the natural world as a resource for

personal growth, not personal wealth. Pedagogy offers insights into culture by revealing important generational values expressed through the design and operation of the classroom. Questions regarding the content of the curriculum, the methods used to teach the material, and the frameworks of child development, serve as lenses to understand a particular culture's values and how it hopes to pass those on to future generations. The educators, funders, directors, and parents who chose to utilize outdoor education for youth development did so because they shared a set of values grounded in a belief that children must have direct, personal interaction with the natural world to become healthy mature adults. Although the academic, behavioral, and developmental goals of these educators were often inconsistent or in conflict, they shared a common faith that if children have challenging experiences in the outdoors, their moral and physical health improves in ways that could not be achieved sitting in desks in an academic classroom. Central to many of these programs was a concept that I call "rugged communalism" which stands in stark contrast to the "rugged individualism" so often associated with frontier or wilderness imagery. "Rugged communalism" values the use of physical challenge in the outdoors to build the individual, but also to strengthen the bonds of community and social responsibility, thereby strengthening and perpetuating the democratic system.

The values that linked the natural world to healthy youth development emerged throughout the nineteenth century and converged in the years after 1900 bursting forth in a cornucopia of outdoor education programs across the United States. For this widespread expansion to occur, three cultural transformations were necessary: 1) the

natural world, specifically wilderness, needed to be considered a positive space, rich with divine inspiration and beauty, not the demonic stronghold of the Puritan imagination; 2) an idealized perspective of youth needed to be associated with a pure natural state of the land, carrying with it the belief that a child was healthiest when in the natural world; and, 3) a pedagogy needed to be defined that grounded an intuitive student-centered learning process on experience with the natural world. The intended results of this confluence were the physically healthy and intellectually competent citizens needed to successfully operate the American democracy. These transformations were expressed in adult and children's literature, in fine art and popular imagery, in public discourse and among professionals in education. National movements were organized around these ideals while colleges and community organizations included them in their daily operation. The legacy of this pedagogic renaissance was an educational system that has for over a century operated in parallel to the industrial or "traditional" system of education that still dominates American public schools.

Since it first took root in the nineteenth century, outdoor education embraced three things: 1) a direct personal experience with the natural world rather than abstract secondary knowledge; 2) the use of observation and reflection instead of memorization and repetition; and 3) a student-centered approach focused on the physical and moral development of the child, not a system-focused approach bound tightly to academic disciplines and hierarchical controls. Although these elements fit within the larger pedagogic framework of *experiential education*, this dissertation focuses specifically on

how such perspectives and values emerged within the context of *outdoor education*, i.e. education focused on connecting children with, and learning from, the natural world.

The structure of this work consists of two sections and a total of eight chapters. The first part explores the cultural transformations that created the necessary conditions for the birth of the movement. The focus will primarily be on New England, starting with the Puritan perspectives on wilderness and youth that held sway in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This relationship of the people to the land was essential for the creation of a pedagogy based on the direct primary experience with the natural world; in many ways the early New Englanders approached the taming of their children in the same way they worked to tame the wilderness. The nineteenth century transformations in the perceptions of youth and the natural world are traced through a study of visual culture, popular literature, and public discourse, focusing specifically on the work of the Transcendentalists. This small circle of writers, educators, artists, and intellectuals was central to the emerging philosophy of outdoor education because they were read by a wide number of New Englanders, participated in Chautauquas, Lyceums, and other popular forums for the exchange of ideas, influenced the creation of arts and literature, as well as experimented with educational programs such as Brook Farm and the Temple School. Although I am not arguing that outdoor education was exclusively a creation of New England Transcendentalism, their ideas were exported across the country and formed the core of the outdoor education pedagogic framework. The roles of Ralph Waldo Emerson, A. Bronson Alcott, Margaret Fuller, and Elizabeth Peabody were essential in linking the beliefs of Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards to the innovations

of Dudley Sargent and John Dewey. The Transcendental pedagogies did not always provide the most popular methods, but they raised important questions that would be discussed for generations of progressive educators.

The second part of this dissertation focuses on three programmatic spheres where outdoor education was applied for youth development in the first quarter of twentieth century New England. The first sphere is the intergenerational experience, linking the cultural memory of the Civil War with the early camp movement, specifically the influence of the Grand Army of the Republic on the formation of the Boy Scouts of America. The second sphere focuses on the intersection of physical education and gender as it related to the work of Dr. Dudley Sargent and Sargent Camp, the outdoor program for Sargent College, an all-female normal school dedicated to training physical educators. The third sphere highlights the urban experience with outdoor education as it was expressed through the playground movement and the outdoor programs organized by settlement houses in Boston. This two part structure provides both a broad cultural overview of the trends leading to the birth of outdoor education as well as specific examples not yet highlighted by scholars of camp and youth history.

Overview of Scholarship on the History of Outdoor Education

A study of the outdoor education movement is situated within the historiographical crossroads of youth history and environmental history. The history of childhood is often plagued with two inherent challenges: 1) that childhood experiences are viewed through lenses of nostalgia that assume earlier times were better times, and 2) that children were often powerless and left few written records. Steven Mintz's *Huck's*

Raft: A History of American Childhood engages these two great challenges by stripping away the mythology and exploring the generational interactions in American culture. Mintz' three major themes articulate a necessary foundation when approaching the nature of children's history. First, childhood is not an unchanging biological stage of life, but rather a social and cultural construct that changes over time. Second, childhood is a contested concept, where adults and children compete for agency, imposing and resisting control over a child's activities. And third, childhoods differ dramatically based on race, class, gender, region, and religion.[1] For Mintz, children are "active agents in the evolution of their society."[2] Understanding the agency of children and respecting the role they play in the creation and transmission of culture is essential to a sophisticated study of youth experience. In this study of the roots of outdoor education, I have embraced Mintz's major themes. The relationship of children and the natural world is a social construct, and as such it has changed throughout the history of America. The Romanticism of the nineteenth century described that relationship in terms that became the central curriculum of the outdoor education movement. The contested meaning of outdoor education was reflected not just in the systems created by adults, but also in the participation by children. Parents and educators wanted to create positive experiences for their children, but the children themselves needed to be emotionally invested as well. Early outdoor educators built their programs around their perceptions of child development and interest, but it was the energy and willing participation of the children

[1] Steven Mintz, *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), vii-viii.
[2] Mintz, ix.

that determined their eventual success. Mintz' third theme, that childhoods differ based on race, gender, region, and religion, raises the importance of humility in academic writing. This dissertation is not a comprehensive study of all American children, or even all children in New England, but rather those children, parents, and educators who worked to preserve a close cultural relationship with the natural world through outdoor education programs in New England between the 1830s and the 1930s.

The challenges faced by the proponents of this close relationship with nature are chronicled in Pamela Riney-Kehrberg's *The Nature of Childhood: An Environmental History of Growing Up in America Since 1865*. Riney-Kehrberg laments the disconnect between children and nature that she sees as being caused by industrialization and urbanization, the final result being that twenty-first century children need to be cajoled to go outside and play, whereas earlier children jumped at the opportunity to get outside.[3] Her work focuses primarily on the Midwest and Great Plains states from the years after the Civil War to the present day in a richly experiential narrative that incorporates the sights, sounds, and smells of child's play through a transforming American landscape. Steven Mintz noted that American history has seen numerous recurrent moral panics over the state of children and *The Nature of Childhood* provides both a narrative of those panics as well as an expression of current cultural fears.[4] Riney-Kehrberg concludes that the converging trends in parental fear and technology have created indoor kids. Fears about injury and abduction caused parents to keep their children under closer supervision

[3] Pamela Riney-Kehrberg, *The Nature of Childhood: An Environmental History of Growing Up in America Since 1865* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2014), 1-5.
[4] Mintz, ix.

than in generations past, resulting in more indoor time. Riney-Kehrberg argues that if this happened in the 1930's, children would have revolted, but with the expansion of family rooms in larger American homes, central heating and cooling, video games, and the internet, children are perfectly content to stay indoors.[5] Throughout her study up to the present day, outdoor educators in various forms worked to transmit a closer relationship between children and the natural world, in order to strengthen personal health, American citizenship, and public education. Although the curricula and educational outcomes changed, the active interaction of children with nature was paramount.

The two most thorough recent additions to the scholarship of outdoor education, or more specifically the summer camp movement, are Leslie Paris' *Children's Nature: The Rise of the American Summer Camp* and Abigail Van Slyck's *A Manufactured Wilderness: Summer Camps and the Shaping of American Youth, 1890-1960.*[6] Paris notes in her introduction that the challenge of writing the history of camp lies in the difficultly of capturing the experiences and warm associations of camp life in "cold type."[7] She goes on to observe that this is complicated by the fact that most of what is written about the camp movement has been by enthusiastic former campers or through congratulatory histories of specific camps, rather than representing a more comprehensive and critical scholarship. As a means to ground her study, Paris turns to

[5] Riney-Kehrberg, 212.
[6] Leslie Paris, *Children's Nature: The Rise of the American Summer Camp* (New York: New York University Press, 2008); Abigail Van Slyck, *A Manufactured Wilderness: Summer Camps and the Shaping of American Youth, 1890-1960* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006).
[7] Paris, 2.

the scholarship of children's histories and youth studies. Van Slyck deals with this lack of scholarship by approaching her study of summer camps as cultural landscapes, exploring the intersection of the land, the built environment, and the social life of the physical space of camp, while interpreting the architecture as an expression of institutional priorities. My approach is to build from these and other excellent studies focusing on areas and examples that Paris, Van Slyck, and their predecessors omitted, while also placing the creation of camp within the larger historic movement of outdoor experiential education. My broadly interdisciplinary approach touches on and draws from scholarship in a number of fields including: visual and material culture studies, youth history, tourism, gender studies, Civil War studies, and urban history. In doing so, I hope to fill a gap in the scholarship regarding outdoor education and the camp movement in America.

Paris, Van Slyck, and other scholars agree that the camp movement began slowly, initially serving a few hundred upper class northeast Protestant boys in the 1880s and 1890s.[8] Primarily anti-modern in character, camps housed students in tents or rustic cabins during an age of skyscrapers, taught canoe paddling and fire building in an age of technological innovation, and drew heavily on nostalgic images during a period of rapid cultural change. After the turn of the century, cultural forces fueled by concerns over urbanization and public health led to a tremendous expansion of summer camp

[8] Eleanor Eells, *Eleanor Eells' History of Organized Camping: The First 100 Years* (Martinsville, Ind.: American Camping Association, 1986); Robert H. MacDonald, *Sons of Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement, 1890-1910* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); David I. Macleod, *Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA, and Their Forerunners, 1870-1920* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983).

opportunities for American youth, aided by the work of national organizations like the YMCA, the Fresh Air Fund, and the Boy and Girl Scouts, as well as individual churches, charities, and settlement houses. This broad national expansion opened the cabin doors of summer camps to millions of children across the country.

Like all educational processes, camps created a space for intergenerational discourse. For Paris, early twentieth century camps were spaces where American children and adults could consolidate notions of childhood as a time apart and an important rite of passage for American youth. Van Slyck sees camps as part of a transnational back-to-nature movement which in America drew heavily on frontier imagery exaggerated by the anxieties of White Anglo-Saxon Protestant parents threatened by the changes in American culture. Although many of the conclusions that scholars have come to regarding the early camp movement are sound, their focus on generally private and organizational camps serving wealthy and upper-middle class youths provides a narrow window into this diverse pedagogic philosophy. By viewing camp as part of a larger experiential education movement and by focusing on programs that were largely omitted by earlier scholars, a different perspective on outdoor education emerges that challenges and expands the standard narrative.

Paris focuses her study of summer camps on programs in the northeastern United States between 1880 and 1940 because that region saw the most extensive expansion and sophistication of camp programs before World War II. Her research is grounded in an extensive study of 50 camps with significant archives as well as hundreds of others with

less complete records. Taking mainstream private and organizational sleep-away camps as her central concern, Paris excludes the family, working class, and charitable camps that also emerged during the period. In her *Children's Nature*, camps are a "transformational project", designed by educators and child care professionals to assert the rights of children while developing them physically and morally. For parents, the appeal of camp rested both on a concern for their children's education as well as their own temporary relief from the pressures of child care. By exploring the advertising, magazines, photos, and rituals of these camps, Paris identifies the formation of the cultural practices that defined camp as well as the tensions between the educational intent of parents and the experienced reality of campers.[9]

As an architectural historian, Van Slyck situates summer camps among the turn-of-the-century urban parks, resort hotels, and national parks created on both sides of the Atlantic addressing the moral and physical degradation of urban life. Many of the same civic leaders who were involved in the playground movement were also active in promoting the expansion of summer camps, linking both movements within the same umbrella of outdoor education. As her title suggests, these summer camps were a "Manufactured Wilderness" and part of the commodification of the natural world that marshalled Native American imagery and rural culture for the purpose of attracting an urban clientele to an idealized natural playground. Camps were overtly anti-modern as they reconstructed a romanticized frontier life in a quest for authenticity paradoxically preparing children for life in a bureaucratic modern world. Threatened by immigration,

[9] Paris, 3.

urbanization, and rapid technological change, white Anglo-Saxon Protestant parents and educators reacted with fear and anxiety that their culture was failing. The design and curriculum of summer camp worked to redirect those fears. By adopting military layouts and the cult of the *Strenuous Life* aggressively promoted by Theodore Roosevelt, camps were meant to strengthen the masculinity of young boys. [10] In simulating the dress and supposed customs of Native Americans, campers would be able to reinforce the idea of the "Vanishing Indian," and reaffirm the racial hierarchies that placed Indian play as merely a stage in the development of whites. Van Slyck's study looks at primarily private and organizational camps in three areas of North America: the Northeast US and the bordering Canadian provinces; the Southeast US, particularly western North Carolina; and the upper Midwest with a focus on Minnesota. Acknowledging that the existence of thousands of camps, with diverse objectives and shared leadership across the industry, makes it nearly impossible to create a comprehensive history of the camp movement, she focuses on the built environment at many of these camps, including those plans replicated and promoted by national organizations, and how that environment shaped the construction of childhood.

The greatest strength of Paris and Van Slyck is that they incorporate the lived experience of camp into the academic study of the movement. This is in contrast to a number of earlier histories that, although they lay a historical foundation for specific paradigms, fail to either provide a critical assessment or capture the experience and intent of the movement. A good example of this first type of history is *Eleanor Eells' History*

[10] Theodore Roosevelt, *The Strenuous Life* (New York: The Review of Reviews Company, 1904).

of Organized Camping: The First 100 Years written by Eells, a long time administrator within the American Camp Association. Eells was an insider, privy to a great deal of institutional wisdom and passion for the field, but lacking academic rigor or a broader perspective of how camps evolved with the times. She viewed the creation of the summer camp learning experience as a reaction to the dominant Victorian culture of the late nineteenth century. Her laissez-faire pedagogical framework suggests a Romantic foundation, arguing that when children are gathered together in the out-of-doors, the mountains speak for themselves.[11] Her approach to the history of the camp extends the experience to the cultures of ancient Athens, Sparta, and the Israelites. Eells argues that camping was a natural and essential element of healthy human cultures and it was not until the industrial revolution severed our collective ties with the natural world that the need for structured camp programs emerged. Her approach incorporates a great breadth of the types of programs involved in the camp movement, from private camps, scouts, national organizations, academic institutions, and settlement houses as well as the importance of John Dewey and others, but her focus is almost exclusively on the leaders of the movement, rather than the experience of the campers themselves.

More academic historians have focused their studies on specific organizations or movements that maintained a defined boundary of gender exclusivity. In doing so, groups like the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and Camp Fire Girls have provided historians with fascinating examples of how gender roles and class boundaries were reinforced and perpetuated. Modern political and legal battles surrounding these organizations have

[11] Eells, 2-4.

boosted their popularity as targets for historians working to uncover systems of oppression, power and control. But in doing so, they also miss the mark by often ignoring the broader perspective, student experience, and benevolent intent of many of those educators who dedicated their lives to uplifting and educating students. Objective academic criticism is a worthy goal, but when it drifts into cynicism it loses its footing as an expression of truth, locked away in ivory towers rather than the lofty mountains it attempts to describe.

Mid-twentieth-century histories lack this cynicism and although they contain glaring holes and assumptions that make modern historians cringe, they reveal an earlier and more positive perspective on the movement. One particular example is Harold Levy's *Building a Popular Movement: A Case Study of the Public Relations of the Boy Scouts of America* from 1944. Levy saw Boy Scouting as being in a class by itself, differentiated from other outdoor education programs by its Congressional Charter and a focus on teaching citizenship, the rejection of militarism, and acceptance of all scouts regardless of creed, race, and class.[12] A tolerant, non-militarist, and democratic Boy Scouts of America (BSA) may seem like a far cry from the organization that regularly makes the headlines in the early twenty-first century, but from the perspective of Levy, prior to the Cold War and rise of the Christian evangelicalism, Scouting was just that. Contrary to many of the early twentieth-century summer camps for elite children, the Boy Scouts took a more egalitarian approach, delicately navigating segregation and religious

[12] Harold P. Levy, *Building a Popular Movement: A Case Study of the Public Relations of the Boy Scouts of America* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1944), 8-21, 73.

intolerance in an attempt to stitch together a national organization. Although bugle calls, khaki uniforms, and marching drills illustrated connections to the armed forces, the early Boy Scout movement aggressively resisted its more militant early competitors and the dominant political culture of the early 1900s by establishing themselves as "Peace Scouts" focused on a civic duty not based on war.[13] This narrative of peaceful and tolerant young scouts was promoted through an extensive publishing house that turned out handbooks, merit badge pamphlets, *Boy's Life* magazine, and numerous young adult novels aimed at boys drawn to the romance of the wilderness.[14] In doing so, the Boy Scouts created a curriculum intended to uplift and inspire millions of American boys, providing them with tools to strengthen their character and improve their lives.

Historians of the late twentieth century were less inclined to accept the benign intent of the Boy Scouts of America. In *Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA, and their Forerunners*, David Macleod saw the popularity of these character building programs as rooted in the social anxieties of Protestant churches motivated to exert control over middle class boys. In this, he saw Scouting and other similar programs not as a means to empower youth who might otherwise grow up weak, but rather to control their values and behaviors. For Macleod, Scouting in particular was an expression of masculinity, with men controlling the lives of boys.[15] He saw the American public school system as a massive bureaucracy working to impose authority over immigrant and non-white children. The character building programs like the Boy

[13] Levy, 25.
[14] Levy, 120.
[15] Macleod, xiv-xvi.

Scouts and the YMCA reinforced that system, extending the control in more intellectually sophisticated ways that could more effectively indoctrinate children through moral development.[16] Macleod's approach is strongly Marxist, with a focus on power, class, and social control, while rejecting the agency of the youth and the individuals within a camp community. He saw camp as being an ideal space for the "Character Builders" to exert almost total control, but ignored the negotiated experience of any community that creates an equilibrium of intent, beliefs, and goals through the interaction of campers, administrators, and counselors. A prime example of this thesis of total control was Macleod's contrast between American and European Boy Scouts. In Britain and France, scouting organizations preferred to organize camps around a smaller troop unit size rather than the American approach focused on larger regional council based camps. Macleod notes this was ostensibly because of the limited number of American Scoutmasters able to take an extended time off from work to lead camp, but he also asserts that this was a way for the administration of the BSA to exert greater power and control over its volunteers.[17] This is an oversimplification of the decision making process on the part of the administrators. Absent from this argument is any discussion of risk management, safety, and the impact of the limited resources of technical knowledge among the volunteers as well as land for camps. If these organizations operated purely as agents of social control, then this argument would be sounder, but the experiential and logistical requirements of the social and environmental interactions of these activities are not so clear cut. The very nature of outdoor education involves direct engagement with

[16] Macleod, 29.
[17] Macleod, 244.

the natural world, a world in constant flux due to changing environmental conditions which introduce a significant element of physical risk. That engagement was not only central to the pedagogy, but it was also the primary draw for young scouts excited by the idea of adventure. In order for the organization to thrive, its troop leaders required the education and training that a larger regional network could provide. Otherwise, only the most negligent of parents would send their kids to camp. As Scout organizations competed with the private camps and other organizations for the attention of youth, they needed to promote swimming areas, boating, hiking, and cabins and other amenities that individual troops would not have had the resources or wherewithal to create. Pooled resources on the council level as well as greater efficiency and risk management were more likely to be the rationale for regional camps rather than egocentric administrators trying to exert power and control.

Like Macleod, Robert H. MacDonald's *Sons of Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement, 1890-1918* approaches Scouting as a tool for social control although in this case the focus is on the British Empire. For MacDonald, English boys suffered from similar issues as their Yankee cousins. The central fear was that growing cities and the materialism of the middle class created a weak generation unable to maintain the mighty British Empire. For Robert Baden-Powell, the founder of the Boy Scouts, Scouting provided a way to adopt the character of the frontier experience and transform it into an ideology balancing adventure with discipline, escapism with moral development, and the

frontier with citizenship.[18] Scouting's success was due in large part to good marketing and business decisions made by Baden-Powell, who enjoyed the position of national hero from his exploits in the Boer War. It was also successful because the movement responded to a crisis of masculinity in early twentieth-century Britain, while also blending progressive educational ideals with reactionary politics. Scouting rejected the rote memorization of the British classroom and embraced a frontier myth promoting militant imperialism.[19] Drawing from James Fennimore Cooper, Robert Lewis Stevenson, Rudyard Kipling, and Robert Service, Baden-Powell and his colleagues constructed a powerful narrative that transformed an American frontiersman into an Anglo-Saxon hero patrolling the edges of civilization in Australia, Canada, Africa, and India. Although MacDonald pays little attention to the negotiated experience of campers, counselors, and administrators, he does an exceptional job illustrating how larger cultural narratives were utilized in the myth-making process that helped to create the curriculum of Scouting. His identification of nineteenth century Romantic literature as a framework for the curriculum of outdoor education is central to my argument as well.

Michael Rosenthal's *The Character Factory* approaches the birth of British Scouting from a similar angle, framing the movement as an Edwardian project of social control and imperialism that was a failure in the end. Rosenthal observes that Scouting emerged during a period when the English speaking world was preoccupied with maintaining an empire and viewed cultural norms, race, and ethnicity on a scale of

[18] MacDonald, 6.
[19] MacDonald, 22-26.

superiority and inferiority.[20] Scouting exploded in popularity in some part due to Robert Baden-Powell's popularity, but more so because the curriculum provided an answer to the moral, physical, and military weaknesses that the upper classes of British society feared.[21] The central elements of this curriculum addressed the "want of self-discipline" through character education and the "want of hygienic and physical knowledge" through training in physical fitness.[22] Rosenthal argues that Baden-Powell used the term "Character Factories" in reference to scouting because it worked to produce uniform children who would adhere to an ideology of unquestioned obedience to the proper authorities, happy acceptance of one's social and economic position, and an unwavering and uncritical patriotism. This ideology of social conformity favored the upper classes, reinforced the submission of the working classes, and worked aggressively as an agent of social control throughout the Empire.[23] In Rosenthal's eyes, Baden-Powell's real agenda was to create an educational system that was totally inclusive and inculcated an ideology that made the boy the most useful to the state.[24]

Although Rosenthal chose the industrial metaphor of a "Character Factory" for his title, his Scout leaders were working aggressively to repress the social change brought on by industrialization. Edwardian Britons, like Baden-Powell, feared that the Empire was eroding from within, much like Ancient Rome. They looked to physical infirmities of youth, as well as the overcrowding, immigration, pollution, disease, and moral decay

[20] Michael Rosenthal. *The Character Factory* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 2.
[21] Rosenthal, 3-4.
[22] Rosenthal, 5.
[23] Rosenthal, 7.
[24] Rosenthal, 10.

associated with the urban landscape as evidence of this threat to the Empire.[25] As a response, recreation in the natural world became a panacea of mythical proportions, especially when contrasted with types of recreation they categorized as urban.[26] By promoting an educational movement that stressed individual responsibility as the sole solution to the problems of the urban poor, Baden-Powell and his fellow Scout leaders could claim to be apolitical while maintaining a strongly conservative stance and ignoring the need for dramatic social change.[27] Although very little of Rosenthal's text addresses American Scouting, his work demonstrates a common academic and liberal critique of the Scouting movement on both sides of the Atlantic throughout its history. Its greatest weakness, like those works mentioned above, is the argument's overly hyperbolic analysis of elites imposing their power and control on youths, without acknowledging the agency of the Scouts themselves and the negotiated experience that emerged in camps and classrooms.

In contrast to the systems of power and control described by Macleod, MacDonald and Rosenthal, Jay Mechling presents an account of a Boy Scout culture where the administrators and bureaucrats who play the role of Character Builders are quite disconnected from the actual experience of scouts and scoutmasters. His focus is not on the top-down political power of the national organization, but rather one focused much more on the individual experience of the scout and the scout masters. Through a longitudinal study of specific scout troops and camp experiences, Mechling's Boy Scouts

[25] Rosenthal, 133-139.
[26] Rosenthal, 141.
[27] Rosenthal, 160-183.

are part of a dynamic cultural process that negotiates the agendas of the scout masters and the peer group, creating an environment that heavily influences the learning experience of the boy.[28] Mechling's work provides something that earlier works on scouting ignored, a critical exploration of the scouting experience itself. For Mechling, scouting's success did not come from an extensive network of elites exerting absolute control over children or a brilliant marketing campaign that played on social anxiety. Rather the success is because of the scouting experience itself with its related transformations and opportunities for learning and self-expression that has drawn generations of scouts to camp and serves as the purpose of the movement. Approaching Scouting as a cultural folk tradition of heterosexual males, he connects the lines between the playfighting and informal ritual insults as being central to the experience of the boy, but also situates the organization's transformations within larger cultural changes of American society. For him, the national organization's obsession with the 3 G's of "God, Gays, and Girls" was not part of the original design of scouting, but rather has emerged late in the twentieth century.[29] Prior to 1948, God and religion were not stressed in Scouting publications, but during the Cold War the links between America, God, democracy, and the Boy Scouts were forged as a weapon against Communism. That culture war greatly impacted the Scouts of the period, who now have grown up to take on leadership positions within the BSA. That trend combined with the impact of the Catholic and Mormon Churches who sponsor the majority of Scout troops in the United States, have pushed the Scouts into a

[28] Jay Mechling. *On My Honor: Boy Scouts and the Making of American Youth* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), xx.
[29] Mechling, 35.

new culture war from the 1990s into the twenty-first century.[30] Although these national debates color the opinions of the American public regarding the scout movement, they do not dominate the experience of individual scouts themselves. At camp, in the backcountry, or during meetings, the scouts have an active role in their own learning, adopting some messages, rejecting others, while discovering opportunities to express their opinions and challenge themselves in new ways.

Although the Girl Scouts could be viewed as the female counterpart to the Boy Scouts, the scholarship regarding them takes a much different approach. Historians have represented the organization with a much greater recognition of the individual agency of its scouts, unlike the social control scholarship that predominates in studies of the Boy Scouts. Tammy Proctor's *Scouting for Girls: A Century of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts* takes a global perspective on the Girl Guiding movement tracing the adaptations and innovations that marked the organization as it changed with the social, political, and economic conditions throughout the world in order to deal with the educational and social realities that modern girls faced.[31] This willingness to change was a result of the focus on acceptance and religious tolerance that have been fundamental to the organization since its inception.[32] Although operating under the name of Girl Guides in Britain and many other parts of the world, the American organization adopted the moniker of "Scout" in order to capture the more active and progressive character of the organization so as to differentiate themselves from the more traditional and reserved Camp Fire Girls. Using

[30] Mechling, 25-46.
[31] Tammy M. Proctor. *Scouting for Girls: A Century of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts* (Denver, Colorado: Praeger, 2009), xvii.
[32] Procter, 17.

the "Scout" name did set them apart, with a vocal public outcry that the name implied a lack of femininity as well as a legal suit from the Boy Scouts of America who were concerned that the use of the name would weaken the concept of "Scout" for boys.[33] The approach of Girl Scouting as a program for "Every Girl, Every Where" led to a historical rejection of ultra-nationalism in favor of international sisterhood while also creating a safe and accepting atmosphere for lesbians and women who needed refuge from the traditional expectations of women.[34] But this universalism has not protected the Girl Scouts from being forced into the Culture Wars of the late twentieth century. In 1974, Betty Friedan was appointed to the National Girl Scouts of America Board sparking a huge reaction from conservative leaders. The later adoption of feminist positions and an alliance with NOW in the 1970s has continued to raise hackles politically.[35] Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts created educational opportunities in the outdoors that could not be found in the traditional classroom. Whether those experiences were meant to subjugate or empower the child has as much to do with the historian as it does the program, but in each of these cases, the curriculum of outdoor education provides insight into the cultural debates of the day and how adults sought to prepare their children for survival in the modern world.

One of the best studies of how outdoor education curricula worked to express cultural concerns is Susan Miller's *Growing Girls: The Natural Origins of Girls' Organizations in America*. Miller looks at how the Girl Scouts, Girl Pioneers, Girl

[33] Procter, 41-42.
[34] Proctor, 43, 57.
[35] Procter, 147-149.

Reserves, and the Camp Fire Girls all worked to address the "girl problem" of the early twentieth century through hiking, camping, and woodcraft. Each of these organizations saw value in the experience of the natural world, but used the wilderness for different ends. The Girl Pioneers and Camp Fire Girls saw the reconnection to nature as a means to restore femininity through primitive domesticity while the Girl Scouts saw the natural world as the backdrop to wilderness adventure and empowerment, much like the Boy Scouts.[36] Miller's approach looks at how the camp experience was framed for girls, studying their attire, promotional materials, and camp architecture as well as the landscape that served as their larger classroom. Specifically, Miller's concept of "indigenous architecture" as a method to frame the student learning through cabins, plants, songs, pageants, programs, and other activities reveals her focus on the lived student experience and the intended academic goals of the outdoor educators.[37] This curriculum, which Miller organizes into the three disciplines of Naturecraft, Homecraft, and Healthcraft, reveals the strongest link between the nineteenth-century Romantics who wanted to unite Americans with their landscape and the twenty-first-century educators who preach place-based education in the outdoors. Miller's Naturecraft curriculum of emergency medicine, boating, knot-tying, fire-building, and tenting provides a significantly less gendered definition of heroism and competence because these skills were considered valuable to boys as well as girls.[38] In this the outdoors proves to be an educational common ground. Miller's approach also balances academic criticism with

[36] Susan A. Miller, *Growing Girls: The Natural Origins of Girls' Organizations in America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2007), 2-7.
[37] Miller, 97.
[38] Miller, 128.

practical insight. For example, the uniforms of the Girl Pioneers included long skirts, which could be interpreted as a means to impose impractical propriety on the young adventurers, but their training manuals included directions on how to convert those skirts into a medical stretcher with the use of a pair of hiking sticks.[39] Campers at girls' camps were often required to cook their own meals which has been interpreted as an example of domesticity training, but Miller notes that this was as much a human resources decision as anything, sacrificing a camp cook from the payroll in order to preserve the slim budgets of a camp.[40] But Miller's conclusion does reveal a limit to her study. One of her biggest concerns is that the best learning and adventure that Camp Fire Girls and Girl Scouts experienced was not found in "camp" but in the various other challenges and opportunities of society.[41] She notes that "summer camp lost because girls' organizations had won."[42] But this is a confusion of physical space with pedagogy. The physical space of camp is the classroom and although it is a physical manifestation of the pedagogy of outdoor education, the two are not the same just as a laboratory is not chemistry. The lessons and skills central to outdoor education can be learned in camp, but also applied and honed in other challenging, indeterminate landscapes between the city and the wilderness. If the character lessons of outdoor education are of any lasting value, they must be transferable beyond the classroom.

[39] Miller, 137.
[40] Miller, 183.
[41] Miller, 226.
[42] Miller, 229.

Methods and Scope of Crafting an Outdoor Classroom

My approach in this study is to explore the roots of outdoor education by focusing on the emergence of its pedagogy. Rather than focusing on how elites insulated their children from cultural change or enforced dominant cultural paradigms, I'm interested in how educators used the methods of outdoor education to address what they perceived to be the needs of children. Instead of focusing exclusively on the national organizations or wealthy private camps, I want to cast a broader net to chart the cultural connections that emerged in the alternative classrooms of outdoor education. Family camps, settlement houses, girls' camps, and anti-militarist programs took form throughout New England in the early years of the twentieth century drawing on a pedagogy that emerged in the northeast as early as the 1830's. These camps focused on the character development of youth by providing spaces for them to express and practice their agency through intentional and intergenerational experiences. Although closely associated with the rugged individualism that has come to typify the frontier myth, these programs focused on "rugged communalism", where the challenge of the outdoors was utilized to build respect and responsibility for their fellow students, the community and the natural world. This "rugged communalism" also was intended to strengthen democratic commitments, create a moral equivalent of war, open a space for the expression of a new femininity, and transform immigrant working class children into responsible American citizens.

While not denying previous scholars' conclusions, I do think that many of those conclusions work to reinforce certain academic paradigms rather than seek to understand the experiences and decisions of those educators who pioneered the camp movement. A

weakness in academic scholarship is that it often ignores the practical and experiential in favor of situating itself or adopting the schemas popular in scholarship trends. Studies into specific cultural practices are then situated into the larger paradigms as examples, but this approach can ignore important elements in the practice itself and the agents involved. A case in point is the idea of "Playing Indian" as a means to reinforce white privilege and clearly define the boundaries between races as argued in *A Manufactured Wilderness*. Van Slyck notes that this idea is difficult for many former campers to accept, but that it is the hard truth of racism at camp. Using this argument of racism through recreation, the adoption of the canoe as an outdoor activity can be seen as a means for a young white child to show mastery over a skill that was essential for adults in many North American tribes. Such an example fits perfectly into the paradigm of cultural appropriation and domination, but there is a much broader list of practical, pedagogical, financial, and environmental arguments for the decision to use canoes. A canoe is a watercraft capable of navigating the big water of large lakes and rivers, flat and white water, yet the shallow draft of the canoe allows it to navigate small tributaries, swamps, and easily cross obstructions like downed trees or beaver dams. Such versatility made the canoe an ideal mode of transport for Native Americans, but also French Canadian Voyageurs, explorers, fur trappers, and summer campers. Pedagogically, the skills needed to navigate a canoe allow a novice to be successful after only a few hours on the water, while also offering a level of mastery that can take years to develop. Learning simple paddle strokes and then moving on to more complex skills of reading wind and water as well as the precise movement of the craft with a subtle movement of the wrist, makes the canoe an object of

study that students can build upon year after year while also being successful early in their education. Mastering T-rescues, learning how to unswamp a boat, and teaching younger campers the ways of the canoe establish a sense of purpose based on skill development and a level of confidence that extends beyond the waterfront. The behavioral lessons learned are also important, challenging the young paddlers to not only interact with the natural forces of wind and water, but also with their partners. As paddlers learn to read each other's actions and work in unison, the canoe loses the zig-zag path of the beginner and begins to follow a smooth straight track across the water. Successful paddling is not about dominance, but rather about learning to work in concert with each other and the natural world, mirroring the interdependence essential to rugged communalism. Financially, canoes are inexpensive to purchase, maintain, and store. Paddles, thwarts, and seats can all be easily built or repaired in a simple camp wood shop. Well-made canoes can be left exposed to the elements for multiple winters and be fully functional when the lake ice melts. The carrying capacity of a canoe allows a small child to easily transport the equipment needed for multiple overnights and extended trips that would otherwise be impossible without a more extensive and expensive supply chain. The versatility of a canoe also means that almost any type of water source can be used as a program area, whether a camp is located on a large lake, a small pond, or a shallow river. In the silent passage of a canoe, paddlers may observe nature along riparian zones where animal activity is highest, enjoying clear views across open water where loons, eagles, osprey, moose, muskrats, and beavers can be experienced without disturbing the creatures' natural behaviors. It is true that the canoe could represent the co-option of

Native American culture by anxious white elites wanting to reinforce their racial superiority, or that the long, narrow, phallic vessel could be primarily a means for young boys to assert their dominance over a placid unspoiled wilderness lake, but for the pioneers of the outdoor education movement, working with tight budgets and trying to maximize student learning, a more logical explanation is that sometimes a canoe was just a canoe.

In *Self-Reliance,* Ralph Waldo Emerson rails against academic work that is grounded on theory instead of experience. The goal he set for his own work was that "My book should smell of pines and resound with the hum of insects."[43] It is my goal to take a page from Mr. Emerson and try to capture something of the experience of camp, the visual, musical, physical, and tangible elements that made it valuable to students and educators. Although I will be critical of the accounts of sublime beauty and the communal utopian potential of outdoor education as stated by the proponents of the movement, I want to also be respectful of the lived experience of these people who found a sense of clarity and peace in the wilderness as well as those who dedicated their lives to the education and uplift of other members of their community. In addition, I will also be critical of the conclusions drawn by the academy regarding youth programming in the outdoors, rappelling from the ivory tower in order to provide a more authentic account of the roots of outdoor education.

[43] Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Self-Reliance," in *The Essential Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*. (New York: The Modern Library, 2000), 138.

The structure of this dissertation is broken into two main sections, consisting of a total of eight chapters. The first part focuses on the nineteenth-century cultural transformation that created the conditions required for outdoor education to flourish. The second part explores three particular cultural spheres that applied this pedagogy of outdoor experiential education. In their studies, both Leslie Paris and Abigail Van Slyck identified the challenge of incorporating the thousands of diverse camps and outdoor programs that existed in the United States into one coherent study. I also face that challenge. Geographically, my focus is primarily on how outdoor education evolved in New England, with the occasional inclusion of the influence of New York as it related to the discourse in Boston. In particular, the Hudson River School and the Leatherstocking Tales had a great influence on the evolution of the programs because of their popularity in New England. This focus on New England allows me to expand the chronology back from the first summer camps of the 1880's to the early colonial period, tracing the intellectual and literary themes that connected the people of New England to their land. This relationship of the people to the land was essential for the creation of a pedagogy based on the direct primary experience with the natural world. The focus on New England, and Boston in particular, also provides another advantage: camp is an intergenerational experience, but the creation of the outdoor education movement was even more so. The small circles of writers, educators, and intellectuals who were central to the philosophy of outdoor education inspired a wide number of New Englanders, but they were also tied together by multiple bonds of intellectual kinship. They were each other's teachers, spouses, in-laws, and colleagues. They participated together in

Chautauquas, Lyceums, and other popular forums for the exchange of ideas. Fine art influenced much of their work but the imagery was commonly replicated in popular culture, suggesting a broad awareness, if not acceptance of their ideas. I am not arguing that outdoor education was exclusively a New England creation, as similar networks could be found in the Midwest, the Southeast or the West Coast, but New England forms the center of my study because of the intense and innovative discussions on pedagogy and the natural world carried on by the Transcendentalists whose ideas were exported across the country and form the core of the outdoor education pedagogic foundation. It was through their *transparent eyeballs* that nature became an American classroom.

The first chapter, The Dark Wilderness of New England, provides an overview of Puritan perspectives on the wilderness and the natural world and corresponding perspectives on childhood and education. Drawing from the writings of John Winthrop, Cotton Mather, and Jonathan Edwards as well as John Bunyan's influential book *A Pilgrim's Progress*, this chapter illustrates the Puritan framing of the wilderness as a place of darkness, home to demons and savages in service to Satan. [44] This idea of wilderness worked to define colonial New England civilization and was reinforced from the pulpit as well as the classroom. The existential threat of King Phillip's War strengthened the Old Testament view of wilderness and remained fresh in the minds of colonial New Englanders. Adventures into the wilds, as described through the period's captivity narratives represented the natural world as a place where faith was tested, but not as a source of faith and divine inspiration. The belief that the wilderness should be

[44] John Bunyan, *A Pilgrim's Progress* (New York: Penguin Group, 2009. Originally published in 1684).

conquered and dominated found a corollary in the classroom, where children were forces to be controlled and disciplined. By the Revolutionary Period, some of the harshness had ebbed but order and structure still dominated the approach to education, as typified by Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography*.[45]

The essential break in this paradigm that gave birth to the outdoor education movement is identified in chapter two, "Romantic Revolution in the Wilderness." The lack of existential threats like those posed by King Phillips War meant that later generations developed a more folksy superstitious view of the wilderness and those changing perspectives found expression in the works of Washington Irving, James Fennimore Cooper, and Lydia Maria Child.[46] Although the "wilderness" would have educative value after the turn of the nineteenth century, the concept would develop different meanings for the new American Republic from what it meant for the Puritans. The changing perspective of wilderness also mirrored the changing perspectives of childhood. Once viewed as a moment requiring strict discipline to drive out the devil, this period of youthful development was later seen as a *tabula rasa* requiring the input of others and of a stimulating environment to create value.

Chapter three, "From Canvas to Campfire," charts the transformation of American perspectives of wilderness through the visual arts and literature of the nineteenth century.

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[45] Benjamin Franklin, *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co, 1948. Originally published in 1798).

[46] Washington Irving, *The Sketch Book* (New York: Signet Classic, 1981. Originally published in 1820); James Fenimore Cooper, *The Last of the Mohicans* (New York: Modern Library Paperback Edition of Random House, 2001. Originally published in 1826); Lydia Maria Child, *Hobomok: A Tale of Early Times* (New York: Garrett Press, Inc, 1970. Originally published in 1824).

This chapter will identify three cultural shifts essential for the birth of outdoor education. First, it will define a philosophical approach connecting moral development to reflection on the natural world. Beginning with the writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson and Nathaniel Hawthorne combined with the landscape paintings of Thomas Cole and others, the natural world became a source of divine inspiration and knowledge. The Old Testament darkness of the Wilderness retreated into the category of the sublime, an element in, but not the entirety of, the wilderness experience. Through Nathaniel Hawthorne's pen the astute New Englander learned how to properly approach the natural world so as to gain wisdom without being obliterated. As demonstrated by the *Ambitions Guest* (1835) in the White Mountains, *Ethan Brand* (1850) in the Berkshires, and numerous other tales, Hawthorne's characters find wisdom only if they engage the sublime for the sake of others; those that seek profit from the wilderness through individualism find their doom. During this time artists and authors also identified the appropriate recreational activities that could bring about learning in the wilderness. Through the tourist books and magazines of the emerging White Mountain recreation industry, visitors framed their experiences in order to gain the most from their adventures in New Hampshire.[47] This was visually reinforced through the work of the Artists-in-

[47] Lucy Crawford, *Lucy Crawford's History of the White Mountains* (Boston: Appalachian Mountain Club, 1978. Originally published in 1846); Samuel Adams Drake, *The Heart of the White Mountains: Their Legend and Scenery* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1882); Charles A. J. Farrar, *The Androscoggin Lakes Illustrated* (Boston: Rockwell & Churchill, 1888); George L. Keyes, *Keyes Hand-Book of Northern and Western Pleasure Travel to the White and Franconia Mountains, The Northern Lakes and Rivers, Montreal and Quebec, and the St. Lawrence and Saguenay Rivers* (Boston: Geo. L. Keyes, 1875); Thomas Starr King, *The White Hills: Their Legends, Landscape, and Poetry* (Boston: Isaac Andrews, 1850); John H. Spaulding, *Historical Relics of the White Mountains. Also, A Concise White Mountain Guide* (Littleton, New Hampshire: Bondcliff Books, 1998. Originally published in 1855); and E. B. Tripp and W. H. Morril, *Guide to the White Mountains and Lakes of New-Hampshire* (Concord, NH: Tripp & Morril, 1850).

Residence found in many of the premier White Mountain resorts as well as in the images mass produced through Currier and Ives lithographs and *Harper's Weekly* illustrations. Through the repetition of hiking, fishing, paddling, and horseback riding imagery, tourists could identify what types of activities should be done in the wilderness. The final segment of this chapter connects these images and new perspectives of active engagement in the wilderness which emerged as the dominant motifs in the promotional materials of early camp programs, showing that the nostalgia promoted by those camps was the product of an evolving perspective on the relationship of humanity and wilderness.

The fourth chapter titled "Making Barefoot Boys from Street Urchins" follows the changing conceptions of childhood and youth development during the nineteenth century. Drawing from Emerson, Hawthorne, and Twain, as well as genre paintings and late nineteenth century memoirs of childhood, this chapter identifies ways in which ideas of proper youth development were anchored in a relationship with the natural world. The nineteenth-century idealized perspective of a "Natural" childhood, best exemplified by the *Barefoot Boy* image of John Greenleaf Whittier and Eastman Johnson, also carried with it gendered prescriptions of what boys and girls should be doing in this *natural* state.[48] The ideal of a natural progress served as the foundation for the emerging psychological theories of G. Stanley Hall, whose stages of development were heavily influenced by Native American and wilderness imagery and in turn became central to the

[48] John Williamson Palmer, *Folk Songs* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1860).

professional curriculum of outdoor education in the early years of the twentieth century.[49] These connections of children in a natural, and presumably healthy and proper state, frequently appeared in the promotional images for outdoor education in the work of Norman Rockwell, Daniel Beard, and Ernest Thompson Seton.[50]

The final chapter of Part I focuses on the formation of a philosophy of learning based on reflection in the natural world as "A Transcendental Classroom." During the middle decades of the nineteenth century, the intellectual movement known as Transcendentalism developed an intuitive process of learning through reflection. Inspired by, or at least heavily influenced by, the work of Emerson, a number of these Transcendentalists focused their work on the creation of classroom environments grounded in this intuitive learning process, often involving a direct relationship with the natural world. Bronson Alcott's Temple School drew on the talents of Margaret Fuller and Elizabeth Peabody before his controversial publication of *Conversations with Children on the Gospel* incited the fury of Bostonians.[51] Fuller would go on to lead a series of successful Conversations with adults that adopted the Socratic Method in adult education as well as helping to found a school in Providence, RI built on the model of the Temple School. George Ripley, a Roxbury minister, left the pulpit to found Brook Farm, a utopian community based on Transcendental ideals, but the farm's greatest success

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[49] G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education* (New York: Appleton, 1904).
[50] *Boys Life*. March 1911 – December 1939; Daniel Carter Beard, *The American Boy's Handy Book* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907); Ernest Thompson Seton, *Wild Animals I have Known* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899); Ernest Thompson Seton, *Manual of the Woodcraft Indians*. (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1915).
[51] A. Bronson Alcott, *Conversations with Children on the Gospels*. (New York: Arno Press, 1972. Originally published in 1836).

came through an innovative school providing students with academic study and the experience of working the land. One resident of that community, Nathaniel Hawthorne, went on to write about the Brook Farm experience in *Blithedale Romance*,[52] after marrying Elizabeth Peabody's sister. But it was Bronson Alcott's daughter, Louisa May, who would weave together the ideals of the Transcendental classroom and put it in the hands of children across the country through her tales of the March family. The Transcendentalists, a small group of writers, teachers, and civic leaders, formed a kinship network of friends, neighbors, and family members that would prepare the intellectual soil needed for the growth of outdoor education in the twentieth century.

By the turn of the century, these three cultural threads intertwined to set the stage for the explosion of outdoor education. By this point the wilderness was viewed as a positive source of knowledge and inspiration, youth development was considered most effective when children had a close relationship with the land, and Transcendental-Deweyian experiential pedagogy established an effective approach to teaching. The second part of the dissertation highlights three particular areas where this Transcendental-Deweyian pedagogy was applied. These spheres of influence focus on: the urban programs that used playgrounds, harbor islands, and any available space to provide outdoor education for disadvantaged urban youth in Boston; the intergenerational relationship between two national organizations in the construction of a Moral Equivalent of War; and the work of one small normal school in Cambridge to improve the physical

[52] Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Blithedale Romance*. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1978. Originally published in 1852).

education of women and connect them with a mountain made sacred by the Transcendentalists. Woven throughout all three chapters is the life of Dr. Dudley A. Sargent, a circus performer turned medical doctor turned physical educator, and a largely unrecognized founder of the outdoor education movement in America.

Chapter six, "Adventurous Play in Urban Environments," highlights a number of the educational programs that served urban populations in Boston, specifically children in the poorest immigrant neighborhoods. These educators did not have the financial resources of the city's elites, and thus sought more local means to provide outdoor education opportunities to their students. In the 1830's, philanthropists and educational pioneers in Boston established the Boston Farm School, later renamed the Boston Asylum for Indigent Boys, on Thompson Island in Boston Harbor, a site which has continued to serve the youth of Boston to the present day. Boston pioneered the playground movement by creating Charlesbank, the first public playground in America, a public park landscaped by Fredrick Law Olmsted and outfitted with equipment designed by Dudley Sargent within blocks of the city's most densely populated neighborhoods. Outdoor education, however, reached a deeper level of social commitment through its application within the city's Settlement Houses. By profiling the North Bennett Street Industrial School's outdoor programs, this chapter traces how the Settlement Houses used outdoor education to address the needs of the poor immigrant communities of the early twentieth century

Chapter seven, "Tenting on the Old Camp Ground" illustrates the relationship between the memory of the Civil War and the formation of the outdoor education movement, specifically the Boy Scouts of America. This relationship also highlights the tensions between outdoor education and the growing militarism in education that was popular at the time. The chapter opens with an account of the Military Rebellion at Bowdoin College in Maine. As General Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain, the hero of Gettysburg and President of the College, established his militarist style of physical training at the school, the students walked out in protest, preferring the physical training programs that had been developed and executed by their young gymnasium director, Dudley Sargent. In the decades immediately after the war, the GAR was able to use their political clout to create physical education faculty positions so as to strengthen the physical abilities of northern boys, but as the Bowdoin experience shows tensions surrounded the martial ideal within the education community. As the years passed, nostalgic memories of the war crystalized a more peaceful routine, highlighting the warm associations and camaraderie of camp life. The songs, poems, and rituals central to GAR Encampments in the early years of the twentieth century also worked their way into the encampments of their grandsons through the formation of the Boy Scouts of America. The early publications of the Boy Scouts of America reveal the difficulty of navigating the politics of North and South as the nation worked to heal the still festering wounds of war. The Boy Scouts also attempted to avoid American militarism by establishing their ideal as "Peace Scouts," an approach that eventually distanced them from their most famous supporter, Theodore Roosevelt. As an alternative to militarism, the Peace Scout

ideal stressed first aid and community service, activities which found expression through regular opportunities for collaboration with their grandfathers in the GAR, through Memorial Day Parades, National Encampments, and most importantly, the 1913 reunion at Gettysburg. This reunion of Blue and Gray was successful in large part due to the work of the young scout volunteers, and the experience was shared with scouts around the country through *Boys Life* articles. When President Wilson took the podium to address the audience, he described the importance of a *Moral Equivalent of War*, an ideal suggested by William James that would become fundamental to the twentieth century expansion of outdoor education.[53]

The final chapter, "The Sargent Girls go to Camp," weaves together the Romantic ideals that created outdoor education with the transformation in American culture in the early twentieth century, while also continuing the story of Dudley Sargent. Sargent committed his life to the use of physical education as a means to prevent and treat illness, specifically in women and children. Throughout his career he was involved in the Chautauqua, playground, and Turner movements, coauthored the autobiography of boxer John L. Sullivan, became the leading voice in American physical education and served as the director of Harvard's Hemenway Gymnasium. When the faculty of Radcliffe rejected his attempt to include physical education in their curriculum, he founded Sargent College, the first normal school dedicated to physical education.[54] In 1912, Sargent Camp opened

[53] *Boys Life*, September 1911; David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2003), 6-8; William James, "The Moral Equivalent of War," *McClure's Magazine*, May 1910.
[54] John L. Sullivan, and Dudley A. Sargent. *Life and Reminiscences of a 19th Century Gladiator*. (Boston: Jas. A. Hearne & Co., 1892); Dudley A. Sargent, *An Autobiography*. (Philadelphia: Lea & Febiger, 1927).

as the college's wilderness campus in order to include outdoor education as a significant component of the college curriculum. Located at the base of Mount Monadnock, the Sargent Camp experience immersed the Sargent Girls in a landscape praised by authors, poets, and artists, allowing them to physically experience the Romantic elements that made the region a popular tourist site. Sargent's influence in the outdoor education movement was broad and significant; Luther Gulick founded the popular Campfire Girls after studying with Sargent, and Sargent himself was a member of the National Council of the Boy Scouts of America along with Gulick and another former student, Col. Theodore Roosevelt. Sargent's books were required reading for budding outdoor educators and Sargent Camp's design and curriculum, due to the national influence of its Director, had a national impact because its mission was to train future outdoor educators for the rapidly expanding movement. Images of the camp were reproduced in national newspapers as well as popular and professional magazines and the space created by the campers in this wilderness allowed women to embrace sports and physical training in ways that would have been impossible in a traditional educational setting. Promotional brochures, academic documents, and picture postcards of Sargent Camp paint a detailed picture of this unique camp where women not only learned how to challenge gender norms, but also learned how to use outdoor education to open similar classrooms for young girls across the country.

Although this work deals primarily with outdoor education in New England, the outdoor education movement was transnational in its impact. The Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts both began in England, as did Outward Bound in the mid-twentieth century.

Transcendentalism was heavily influenced by German Philosophy and English Romanticism, and the Settlement House movement began in London's Whitechapel district while Jack the Ripper still prowled the streets. Throughout the twentieth century, the nations that saw the most vibrant outdoor education programs were all former colonies of the British Empire, including Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and of course the United States. This Anglo-Saxon thread of outdoor education emerges in various portions of the dissertation, but deserves a more thorough study that is beyond the bounds of this project.

American society in the twenty-first century can be criticized for being too technological and disconnected from the natural world. The industrial food system isolates the consumer from the producer such that Americans rarely know either where their food came from or what is actually in it; massive global consumption has moved the Earth's human population beyond its carrying capacity; and the obfuscation of science in the media has sown the seeds of doubt regarding the epic catastrophe of climate change. In the face of this, emerging educational and social ideals centered on sustainability, environmental education, and the triple bottom line appear to be new and innovative, but they are almost as old as the nation itself. Building on a nineteenth century cultural and pedagogical foundation, summer camps, scouting organizations, and countless schools and youth programs have turned to a more Romantic approach to the relationship with the natural world throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first centuries. Instead of transforming wilderness, these educators worked to transform youth through wilderness, blazing a trail that would be followed by later generations. Those women and men who

created centers for outdoor education were not pioneers or frontiersmen in a literal sense, but in a literary sense, reflecting on their culture and their relationship to the landscape in order to provide their children with the tools necessary to build a society in greater harmony with nature. Theirs was not a rugged individualism that stressed greed and domination, but an ideal of rugged communalism, that stressed the interdependence of community, both social and ecological.

Chapter 1: The Dark Wilderness of New England

Central to the creation of any pedagogical model is the identification of valid sources of knowledge appropriate in the educational process. Which cultural stimuli will provide the strongest intellectual and spiritual inputs required for a child to grow, develop, and thrive in a given society? For the first two hundred years of European settlement in New England, the debate over the moral character of wilderness and the natural world had a direct impact on classrooms and educational models. If the wilderness was evil, then a valid educative process was one that promoted growth through an intense battle with that wilderness. If the wilderness was good, then communing with that natural world led to intellectual and spiritual fulfillment. As Europeans began to settle New England, they developed an oppositional relationship with the wilderness, associating its destruction with their religious mission in the New World. But the darkness they saw in the forest seemed to exist in the hearts of their children as well, so education in New England would also carry with it the themes of Christian civilization doing battle with the nature. This battle reached an armistice with the dawn of the Enlightenment and a new relationship between Americans and the natural world. As the theories of John Locke were applied to government, so too were they applied to education, setting the stage for a fundamental shift in the relationship between children and wilderness.

Wilderness: An Ancient Concept in a New World

Once man first domesticated livestock and cultivated land, the idea of wilderness took shape.[55] The old world concept of wilderness characterized it as a harsh, violent place, the home to demons, unfit for humanity. Thomas Cole's 1828 *Expulsion from the Garden of Eden* (Figure 1.1) illustrated these longstanding views of wilderness in opposition to Paradise in the Judeo-Christian world. Wilderness was dark, dangerous and violent, symbolic of all that man must rise above. In the idyllic world close to God, deer ran free and swans glided across a still pond, while in the dark shadow of wilderness, wolves fed on carrion as vultures swooped down for their share. This is the wilderness into which Adam and Eve were exiled, but the Judeo-Christian worldview found value in wilderness as well. For the biblical Israelites, the wilderness provided a refuge from Pharaoh. It offered them a place to grow closer to God, to test themselves, and to prepare the spirit and the body for entrance into the promised land. Moses went alone into the wilderness, and returned with the 10 Commandments. In the New Testament, Jesus left civilization for the wilderness to seek his own tests of faith against Satan. The value of the wilderness came not in spite of its dangers, but rather because of them. Yet Christianity's mission was to spread civilization, not wilderness.[56] In the physical world, these dark unknown lands also protected the pagan hordes who regularly threatened European civilization. From the northern forests came the barbarians who sacked the majesty of Rome. Like a North Sea gale, the Vikings swept down upon villages to rape

[55] Roderick Frazier Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1982), xi; John Stilgoe, *Common Landscape of America, 1580 to 1845.* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1982).
[56]Nash, 8-17.

and pillage. And wolves, witches, and monsters sought refuge in the forests and mountain tops of Europe's fairy tale world. In a religious, literary, and physical sense, Europeans saw the wilderness as the geographic and metaphoric home to all sorts of existential threats. As English colonists in the seventeenth century set sail across the Atlantic, it was this view of wilderness that framed their relationship with the land in the Americas.

When the English settlers landed on Plymouth Rock, they considered this "New World" a vast wilderness, an untouched pristine land where they could establish a new kingdom of God on the shores of the Atlantic. This perspective however spoke more to their Puritan European cultural lens than an ecological reality. The lands that would be known as New England were inhabited by a sophisticated population of native peoples, who had organized their communities into political units, built energy efficient homes, and developed sustainable practices of agriculture which enriched the soil and utilized managed forest fires to transform the land for human use. In stepping off the Mayflower, these new New Englanders were stepping into a web of life that included Native American cultures, beaver ponds, and buffalo traces. With them they brought new species, new perspectives on the land, and new technologies which would disturb the ecological balance and transform the land itself.[57] Through their Calvinist Euro-centric lenses, this new world was demonic and frightening, yet rich with potential for amassing material wealth and the opportunity to prove the worth of their souls.

[57] William Cronon. *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983).

The settlement of New England was initially framed as a battle against evil, reinforced by imported materials and ideas, evolving into a worldview that stressed order, structure, and independence. These cultural values formed the pedagogic framework of the New England classroom as well, with children educated first to drive out evil by resisting the temptations within and importing the Good Word from the pulpit above. The self-discipline, order, and structure that defined education in the years after the War of Independence, laid a foundation for the industrial models of education that would predominate in the 19th and 20th centuries. Wilderness formed the opposing pole of virtue in this emerging Colonial Model of education and settlement. In fighting and destroying wilderness, colonists achieved moral and material progress. Wilderness in this case is not necessarily a physical place, but a state of raw authenticity reached by a direct relationship with the natural world and its consequences. It was a mental model, but one that found a physical parallel in geography. Historian Roderick Frazier Nash described this state of wilderness as "any place in which a person feels stripped of guidance, lost, and perplexed."[58] Wilderness epitomized the darkness in the soul and on the map, the unknown, the supernatural source and refuge of sin. The struggle between wilderness and civilization was an old one and central to the Calvinist faith that landed on Plymouth Rock. But the concept of wilderness and its relationship to the moral development of a community was complex and evolved over time in New England. Finding the divine paths to wisdom through a tract-less land held great potential, but also tremendous risk.

[58] Nash, 3. Nash also expands on the subjective designation of wilderness, noting on page one that "One man's wilderness may be another man's roadside picnic ground."

Aboard the *Arbella* in the spring of 1630, John Winthrop identified the objective of the Massachusetts Puritan settlers as the creation of "a city upon a hill" from this American wilderness. These Puritans were not fleeing a hostile England; they were coming to America to create an experiment of true Christian society, what Perry Miller referred to as an "Errand Into the Wilderness." Their goal was to create a society in America that could be replicated in the rebuilding of the old world.[59] American wilderness would serve as a training ground for English leadership, and in this way, it played its first role as classroom. These lessons were not learned from reflecting on the pristine elements of Creation, rather they were lessons learned by struggling and battling against the dark savagery that the wilderness represented and concealed. Through this conflict, they would affirm their faith and obey God's command.

The Calvinism practiced by these early Puritan settlers denied that man could understand God's will through the observation of nature, in fact it denied that man could understand it at all.[60] The corrupting presence of original sin obscured man's observations of the world around him. As Miller suggested, man "may also study nature and natural philosophy, but his knowledge will always be vain and useless; his faculties are too corrupted to observe correctly; nature is under God's providence, and God's ways are beyond the human ability to find out."[61] Human eyes were too subject to corruption to be trusted. Although their careful studies of the world around them might suggest the rhythms of nature, the Puritans held within them a great fear of what Miller described as

[59] Perry Miller. *Errand Into the Wilderness*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1978), 11.
[60] Miller, 55.
[61] Miller, 56.

"something mysterious and terrible, of something that leaped when least expected, something that upset all regularizations and defied all logic, something behind appearances that could not be tamed and brought to heel by men."[62] This was the darkly sinister and powerful divine force that German theologian Rudolf Otto would later refer to as the *mysterium tremendum* and which nineteenth century artists would simply call the *sublime.*[63]

Early settlers in the New World saw wilderness as both a direct threat to their survival as well as an opportunity to prove their moral worth. The American wilderness was vast, dark, and dangerous. From the European's perspective, it contained wild beasts and savages, symbols of the uncivilized self. The highly influential minister and writer Cotton Mather believed that Satan had seduced and converted all of the Indians so as to make the wilderness of the New World his demonic stronghold. But the wilderness also provided a refuge from the religious persecution of the Old World. Here the Puritans were isolated, with only each other and their faith to protect them from the existential threats just beyond the cleared field and stockade fence. Through building their community in opposition to this perceived wilderness, the Puritan colonists of New England accessed its redemptive value. They came to this wilderness to ground their church on a rock of primary experience. In battling the wilderness both physically and metaphysically, converting forest to field and savage to Christian, these new Americans

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[62] Miller, 94.
[63] Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy*. Translated by John W. Harvey. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), 12.

could prove their own worth and test themselves as surely as the Israelites of old. The conquest of a New England wilderness was a spiritual quest.[64]

Christian, Cotton, and King Phillip

With the exception of the Bible, the most popular book of the period was also about a spiritual quest, one of a young man named Christian on his journey to the Celestial City. Its popularity and religious significance worked to frame the relationship between the colonists and their New England landscape. Originally published in England in 1678, John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* was widely read around the world well into the nineteenth century. As English missionaries journeyed around the Empire and beyond, they carried *Pilgrim's Progress* with them, making it into something of a shadow Bible, reinforcing Christian ideals in fictional form.[65] The popularity of Bunyan's text rested on its broad appeal. Evangelicals were excited by the devotional nature and strong Calvinist views of Protestant Christianity while more literary-minded advocates were attracted to the academic value of the text as a forerunner to the English novel.[66] The book held a central position in English and English colonial culture, having been read to children at home, school, and church as well as being the inspiration of children's puzzles and toys.[67]

Bunyan's allegorical tale unfolds as a dream with the narrator relating the trials of an adventurer named Christian, who leaves his family, crosses paths with various

[64]Nash, 24-36.
[65] Isabel Hofmeyr, "How Bunyan Became English: Missionaries, Translation, and the Discipline of English Literature," *Journal of British Studies* 41 (January 2002): pp. 84-119; Kevin Seidel, "Pilgrim's Progress and The Book," *ELH* 77 (2010): pp. 509-533.
[66] Hofmeyr, 86-90.
[67] Hofmeyr, 90.

temptations and dangers, and pursues the straight and narrow path to redemption. Throughout his journey the imagery of wilderness parallels the descriptions of the inherent evil of man, and only through a reliance on the written word of God is Christian able to avoid condemnation. In the second part of the text, Christian's wife Christiana and their children follow her husband's path, providing Bunyan with the opportunity to advise parents on how best to educate their children in this world of sin and treachery.[68] The gendered nature of Christian and Christiana's wilderness journeys marked clear distinctions for spiritual progress. Christian's adventure required him to leave his community, suffer physical agonies, and to define himself as an individual, while Christiana's journey required her to deepen social and family ties, tending to her children while finding success through following her husband's lead and relying on help from others along the way.[69] Together, the two books that make up *The Pilgrim's Progress* defined a moral geography of wilderness and underscored a positive Calvinist view of fear as a counterbalance to man's sinful nature as well as a distinct difference between how men and women should engage wilderness.

Bunyan's approach to his characters made the allegorical nature of his book clear and obvious to all readers, especially in regards to the names of his characters. Evangelist set Christian on his path, where he was eventually joined by Faithful and Hopeful, while Obstinate, Mistrust, Envy, Superstition, Lord Hategood and many others stood in his way. His cartographic appellations were equally straightforward. Christian

[68] The second half of the text was published in 1684.
[69] Margaret Soenser Breen, "The Sexed *Pilgrim's Progress*," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 32 (Summer 1992): pp 443-460.

and Christiana both travel from the City of Destruction to the Celestial City while avoiding the dangers in the towns of Vanity and Carnal Policy as well as the Slough of Despond and Doubting Castle. Throughout the text, the pilgrims traveled through an *unnamed* wilderness that threatened their lives but also provided insight to their quest for salvation. In multiple instances, the unnamed wilderness provided opportunities that revealed spiritual truths, and decoupled from a specific name, this wilderness stands for any land in this world of sin where one could become bewildered. Right from Bunyan's opening line, the fable is grounded in inspiration found in the wilderness: "As I walked through the wilderness of this world, I lighted on a certain place where was a den, and I laid me down in that place to sleep, and as I slept I dreamed a dream."[70] Bunyan's narrator is only able to discover these spiritual truths by sleeping and dreaming in the wilderness, disconnected from both civilization and consciousness, in order to connect with the divine.

Christian and Faithful find their own divine inspiration while passing through an unnamed wilderness when they are joined by their prophet, Evangelist. Evangelist reveals to them that although they must face many tribulations in the wilderness, they must at times leave the wilds and rejoin the "bonds and afflictions" of the city.[71] He warns the pilgrims that as they reach the end of this stretch of wilderness, they will enter the town of Vanity, where one of them will be killed. They are advised not to submit to temptation, but rather to hold to their faith because although death may be painful, the

[70] John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress* (New York: Signet Classics, 2009), 11.
[71] Bunyan, 84.

short lived victim will escape the further miseries of the journey and more swiftly reach the Celestial City and the Kingdom of God.

In the central marketplace of the town of Vanity stood a den of sin known as Vanity Fair. Those who came to the Vanity Fair traded in property, honors, lusts, and every type of material and non-material sin, fit for a business district set up by Beelzebub himself. As Christian and Faithful attempt to pass through the Fair, their attire and manners draw the attention of the fairgoers who ridicule, capture, and lock them in chains, where other townspeople hurl insults upon them. Remembering the Evangelist's warnings in the wilderness, they resist the material demands of the townspeople, but this incenses the mob even more so the two pilgrims are captured and tried for disturbing the peace and contempt of the law of Beelzebub. Holding true to their beliefs, Faithful is condemned to a cruel torturous death while Christian goes back to prison until he escapes the jail and Vanity.[72] Although civilization provides no refuge from the trials of the wilderness, Christian and Faithful follow in the footsteps of Christ and Moses, finding lessons in the wilderness that aid them in their journey.

While traveling with fellow pilgrim Hopeful, Christian finds refuge and inspiration in the Delectable Mountains, a range belonging to the Lord and filled with gardens, orchards, vineyards and fountains of water. From the highlands of the Delectable Mountains, they catch glimpses of the Celestial City and the four shepherds, Knowledge, Experience, Watchful, and Sincere who offer them shelter in their tents. In the morning, the four shepherds lead the pilgrims past Mount Error and Mount Caution

[72] Bunyan, 82-93.

drawing lessons from the scene in order to give them the wisdom needed for the journey. As Hopeful and Christian leave the Delectable Mountains, they honor Knowledge, Experience, Watchful, and Sincere by singing:

> Thus by the shepherds secrets are revealed
> Which from all other men are kept concealed.
> Come to the shepherds, then, if you would see
> Things deep, things hid, and the mysterious be.[73]

For these wilderness travelers, the educational lessons gained in the mountains reveal truths that could never be found in the towns below.

In book two of *The Pilgrim's Progress,* Christiana and her brood also cross paths with the shepherds, who teach them the lessons of the mountains, specifically Mount Marvel, Mount Innocent, and Mount Charity. But this second band of adventurers also passes through valleys rich with moral value. The Valley of Humiliation was an empty and solitary place where the Lord had once lived in his country house. Often inhabited by angels, the Valley was unique because "here a man shall be free from the noise and from the hurryings of all life."[74] The journey through this first Valley brings warm feelings to most who travel through it, but those emotions change once they cross into the next, the Valley of the Shadow of Death. Although filled with frightening and evil things, Christiana and her family are protected by their guide, Mr. Great-heart, who demonstrated that with courage, they should fear no evil even while walking through the Valley of the Shadow of Death. In the darkness of that valley, the wilderness travelers

[73] Bunyan, 116.
[74] Bunyan, 228.

discover the sublime forces of the supernatural, the dark, misty, frightening landscape that tests the courage of the adventurer. As Bunyan describes, "many have spoke of it, but none can tell what the Valley of the Shadow of Death should mean until they come in it themselves."[75] Shaken by the sights and sounds around them, the travelers find strength in the motivational words of their guide, Mr. Great-heart:

> This is like doing business in great waters, or like going down into the deep. This is like being in the heart of the sea and like going down to the bottoms of the mountains. Now it seems as if the earth with its bars were about us forever. But let them that walk in darkness and have no light, trust in the name of the Lord, and stay upon their God. For my part, as I have told you already, I have gone often through this valley, and have been much harder put to it than now I am, and yet you see I am alive. I would not boast for that I am not mine own savior. But I trust we shall have a good deliverance. Come let us pray for light to him that can lighten our darkness, and that can rebuke, not only these, but all the Satans in hell.[76]

In doing so, Bunyan, through the advice of Mr. Great-heart, anchors the development of character in the physical experience of testing oneself in the wilderness, a lesson that will be carried on by generations of outdoor educators often quite familiar with the adventures of Christiana and Christian.

As much as the pilgrims in Bunyan's text find lessons in the wilderness, central to the theological core of the book is the belief that those lessons do not come from within the self. These wilderness experiences do not reveal the secrets of Creation, but rather provide hints to God's grace or unleash the sublime so that terror reminds the sinner of salvation's path. The Puritan Calvinists who carried Bunyan's text to New England had

[75] Bunyan, 232.
[76] Bunyan, 233.

stripped Christianity down to its core, the written word of God as captured in the Bible. Humanity was fallen and inherently sinful. The nineteenth-century Emersonian maxim to "Trust Thyself" would have been considered foolish heresy to seventeenth century New Englanders. The only thing that the self could be trusted to do was to be swayed by the Devil and commit sin, therefore a good Christian had to rely on the external sources of knowledge provided by the Gospels. Reflecting on personal experiences in the natural world would open the door to damnation, not knowledge and wisdom. Salvation was only possible through obedience to the Word. Bunyan's opening passage, titled "The Author's Apology for His Book," sources his text in a Divine muse as the most valid approach to writing. He offers *The Pilgrim's Progress* as a tool to help "make a traveler of thee" and suggests that his mind and pen have been guided by God in order to make "base things usher in divine."[77] Although he refrains from comparing his text to the Gospels, he suggests that this written text is a divinely inspired guide book to help the traveler escape the temptations and false paths in the wilderness of life.

Christian and Hopeful engage the temptation of trusting thyself when they meet with Ignorance on their journey. Ignorance argues that he is on the righteous path because he often thinks of God and Heaven, to which Christian replies, "So do the devils and damned souls."[78] Ignorance continues to plead his righteousness by claiming that his heart tells him that he is on the right path, and Christian retorts with Proverbs 28:26, "He that trusts his own heart is a fool."[79] Through a flurry of Biblical quotes, Christian

[77] Bunyan, 6-9.
[78] Bunyan, 137.
[79] Bunyan, 137.

affirms that man is inherently evil and that only by trusting the Word of God can we find a righteous path. Ignorance, worn down by the debate, must stop and rest as Christian and Hopeful leave him behind. As they continue their journey and their conversation, the two pilgrims discuss what motivates people to abandon ignorance of the Lord and pushes them onto the straight and narrow path of salvation, concluding that fear is the essential motivating force. Hopeful observes, "fear tends much to men's good, and to make them right at their beginning to go on pilgrimage."[80] Christian extends this by arguing that fear is good, because it appears at the realization of one's sinfulness, that it drives one toward Christ for salvation, and that it causes a greater reverence for God.[81] As such, the sublime force of nature works to God's advantage by driving pilgrims to the faith and affirming their need for Holy Communion. For the Puritans, the wilderness did not have lessons to teach; instead, it served as a source of fear driving the people of New England to God.

New Englanders of the seventeenth century had much to fear from wilderness, from natural disaster to witchcraft to Indian wars. Ministers like Cotton Mather saw harsh storms and earthquakes as Satan's successful attempts at exploiting sin and claiming souls. As Richard Slotkin argued, early New Englanders lived in a world of constant threat and war with the "savages" of the wilderness. This wilderness relationship expressed through the popular Captivity Narratives documented the frightening situations of colonists kidnapped by warring tribes of Native Americans. These writings explore a

[80] Bunyan, 142.
[81] Bunyan, 142.

physical and spiritual battle between savagery and civilization, where the captives are tested by the wilderness and lured away from their Christian teachings.[82] The existential threat posed by wilderness, including Indian raids, resulted in slaughtered families and devastated villages. Such horrors left deep psychological scars on the minds of these early settlers, scars which could turn them to accusations of unpardonable sins. Theirs was a wilderness framed by the theology of Calvinism and the literary work of John Bunyan, one where the wilderness represented the fear of what was at stake if you followed an unrighteous path, listened to your own heart, and strayed from God, the Church, and civilization.

King Phillips War represents the most extreme and consequential example of this existential fear of wilderness. The conflict between the Algonquin people and the English colonists was the most devastating war in American history. Between June 1675 and August 1676, twenty-five English towns were destroyed, more than half of the colonial settlements in New England. Although the Algonquin's total human losses were greater, the war reversed the colonial project of the Puritans, pushing them out of the interior and up against the very edge of the Atlantic. Clinging to the few coastal villages, pinched between a ferocious violent enemy and a vast cold ocean, the English nearly abandoned New England.[83] The accounts of the war read as a nightmarish landscape fit for John Bunyan: towns devastated with all structures burnt to the ground, headless corpses, three legged cattle hobbling through the wreckage with bellies split open and intestines trailing

[82] Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860.* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1973).
[83] Jill Lepore. *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity.* (New York: Vintage Books, 1998), xi.

behind, Algonquin warriors adorned with belts of human skin and necklaces of human fingers, pregnant women scalped while infants were swung by their ankles against a rock to smash open their brains.[84] For the survivors, this truly was the demonic retribution of the wilderness, a very real threat that struck from beyond the reach of what they would define as civilization.

The threats posed by this close proximity to the wilderness transcended the physical. These early New Englanders experienced life on a border between cultures as well as landscapes, and as a result they suffered an identity crisis. They had hoped to come to this new world and convert the Natives to Christianity, but by the end of the seventeenth century, New England's leaders began to worry that this life close to wilderness was eroding their own Englishness, making them more savage rather than making the Indians more civilized.[85] The war illustrated that for the colonists. The English were supposed to be a kinder and gentler people, but they lashed out with as much violence and barbarity against the Algonquins as they had experienced.

King Philip's War set into motion cycles of violence and mistrust that defined the Anglo-Indian relationship for centuries to come, in direct contrast to the idyllic myth of the First Thanksgiving. But it also had consequences for education in New England. Most directly, the war ended the missionary project of John Eliot and others who worked to teach the Native Peoples of New England how to read. Reading was considered an essential skill for the Puritans whose faith was grounded on the written word of the

[84] Lepore, 72.
[85] Lepore, 6.

Gospels. The wilderness and nature were expressions of sin, deception, and a fallen world. Only the written word of the Bible captured God's divine message. The early hope of the Puritans was that the Natives would embrace this salvation willingly and with great joy, but the war showed otherwise and the project was considered too dangerous to continue.[86]

Another lasting expression of the war was the creation of a genre of American literature known as the Captivity Narrative. Not all settlers were slaughtered during Indian raids. The practice of seizing and transporting New Englanders north to Canada or other tribal strongholds for ransom or adoption was a common practice throughout the conflicts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One of the first and most widely circulated captivity narratives was written by Mary Rowlandson, who was taken from her home in Lancaster, Massachusetts during King Philip's War and entitled her memoirs *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God.* Throughout the text she refers to her captors as Devilish Savages and regularly describes them as if they were in dialog with Satan. In order to survive her travails, she turns to her Bible and passages from Scripture for physical, emotional, and spiritual strength. In her conclusion, she acknowledges that her experience in the wilderness helped her to gain the perspective of God in relation to the world. Although the experience was harsh and terrifying, Rowlandson saw it as a positive one because it drove her closer to God.[87] Her spiritual journey was, in essence, a Puritan wilderness sojourn. The harsh landscape represented the devil, and only through

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[86] Lepore, 43.
[87] Mary Rowlandson. *A Narrative of the Captivity and Removes of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson (Originally Published as The Sovereignty and Goodness of God)*. (Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1974).

her faith in the written Word of God was she able to maintain strength as she passed through danger. She was as much a pilgrim as Christian and Christiana, learning the lessons of God by experiencing a landscape of godlessness.

The war doubtless had a deep psychological impact on the children of New England during the period. After King Philip had been defeated, one particular twelve year old boy made a journey from Boston to Plymouth, where the severed head of Philip stood on display atop a metal spike. The boy approached the Indian's remains, attacked the head, tearing the jaw from the rest of the skull. It was the first of many times Cotton Mather would work to silence the devil's voice from the wilderness.[88]

For New Englanders living in a state of existential fear, *The Pilgrim's Progress* not only outlined and framed the wilderness experience; it also framed the proper educational approach in a wilderness of sin. Part II of *The Pilgrim's Progress* chronicles the journey of Christiana, Christian's wife, and their children as they traveled from the City of Destruction to the Celestial City. In addition to facing the same dangers as her husband, Christiana must also care for and educate her children along the way. In Bunyan, repetition and a close study of the literal Word of God as expressed in the Bible serve as the measure of a quality education. The character of Prudence assesses Christiana's parenting by testing her children on the catechisms, a series of questions followed by short answers memorized by students. Each of the children pass the test, therefore proving the efficacy of their religious training.[89] The consequences of failing

[88] Lepore, 174.
[89] Bunyan, 214-216.

such a test would have resulted in eternal damnation, the seventeenth century version of high stakes testing that truly would have left a child behind. Prudence reinforces the lesson by commanding the children to obey their parents, study the Bible, and learn from the world around them. She adds, "observe also, and that with carefulness, what the heavens and earth do teach you; but especially be much in the meditation of that book that was the cause of your father's becoming a pilgrim."[90] There are lessons in Creation, but only the book should be trusted to provide knowledge. Prudence later demonstrates this approach in her education of the child Matthew, using clouds, rainbows, and fire as metaphoric examples of God's love and the Biblical catechisms.[91] But in Bunyan's educational model, knowledge is not enough to reach salvation. As a good Calvinist, he knows that one must also incorporate a heavy dose of fear as the essential catalyst for wisdom. Fear of hell and fear of God are required for the pilgrim's journey.[92]

The stern and morbid approach to their faith was reflected in the Puritan approach to raising children. Pregnancy was viewed as a burden, not a gift, and in upper class homes mothers turned children over to wet nurses almost immediately while fathers were entirely absent. Expressions of fondness for children weakened the Puritan authority as a parent and corporal punishment was extensive. Schoolmasters were often represented with the birch rod used to inflict punishment and maintain order.[93] In an age of high infant mortality, it may have been a psychological defense mechanism to distance parent from child and Calvinists did not shy away from death. In fact they focused on it to the

[90] Bunyan, 216-217.
[91] Bunyan, 221-222.
[92] Bunyan, 244.
[93] Joseph Illick, *American Childhoods*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 20-22.

point of obsession. Thomas Smith's *Self-Portrait* from about 1680 captures how comfortable the Puritans were in embracing death. (Figure 1.2) The portrait, one of the oldest surviving from Puritan New England, shows the stern faced artist resting his hand upon a human skull and a paper bearing the following poem:

> Why why should I the World be minding
> Therein a World of Evils Finding.
> Then Farwell World: Farwell thy Jarres
> Thy Joies thy Toies thy Wiles thy Warrs
> Truth Sounds Retreat: I am not sorye.
> The Eternall Drawes to him my heart
> By Faith (which can thy Force Subvert)
> To Crowne me (after Grace) with Glory.[94]

In the background a battle at sea extends the messages of war and death. Smith's *Self-Portrait* shows both the dark side of the Puritan world view as well as the relative bright side. Life in this world is sinful and evil, but through faith there is hope and the possibility of a greater afterlife. For that reason children needed the tools to survive the darkness of this world and succeed in transitioning to the next world. Providing these tools was the central purpose and mission of Puritan education.

For a child in Puritan New England, education was very much in the model of John Bunyan's blend of rote memorization and fear of God. In 1647, the Massachusetts General Court required that all children learn to read in order to interpret the Bible on

[94] Transcription from Painting Page of Thomas Smith, *Self-Portrait*. Worcester Art Museum. www.worcesterart.org/Collection/Early_American. Accessed 1/23/2014.

their own. Only by knowing how to read could the children of New England possibly find salvation and ensure their independence from the Pope or any priesthood in this aggressively anti-Catholic region. With this massive project of public education, there was the need for a mass produced text that could be spread across the region. That need was met by the *New England Primer*.[95] Although no first edition of the *New England Primer* survives, it was likely first printed between 1687 and 1690.[96] For the next 150 years, over 20,000 copies were printed annually in America, with total estimates ranging between 3 and 8 million copies in the colonies although few have survived because they were literally used until they fell apart.[97] Textbook publication was somewhat of an entrepreneurial activity with various printers across the colonies reprinting the text, each making their own slight modifications, but overall the *New England Primer* was the most widespread juvenile text in Pre-Revolutionary America and the catechisms of the *Primer* served as the basis for the academic curriculum in schools across New England.[98] This was in large part because it was one of the only texts directed at children that fit into the Puritan New England ethic. It served the purpose of teaching literacy, the first essential skill needed for salvation, and it reinforced the strict Calvinist belief in obedience.[99] Students were drilled daily in the text and were expected to recite them verbatim, striving

[95] Paul Leicster Ford, ed. *The New England Primer*. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1899), 5.
[96] Ford, 39.
[97] Ford, 46.
[98] Joel Munsell, ed. *The New England Primer*. (Albany: Joel Munsell's Sons, 1885), 1-2; Richard L. Venezky, "A History of the American Reading Textbook," *The Elementary School Journal.* 87 (January 1987): 247.
[99] ; Daniel A. Cohen, "The Origin and Development of the New England Primer," *Children's Literature.* 5 (1976): 52.

for memorization, not understanding.[100] It was an education to salvation through submission, reinforcing in school the message preached from the pulpit, the rejection of the lived experience for the literal truth of the Bible.

Although the various surviving copies of the *New England Primer* differ, they contained similar components and themes. The God presented to children in the pages of *New England Primer* was one of an avenging father and a forgiving son. Children were defined in terms of their disobedience to God's authority; all children were guilty of disobedience and therefore they were all deserving of punishment for violating parental and divine will.[101] The opening pages contained a list of the letters of the alphabet, an identification of vowels, consonants, and double letters, as well as examples of words with various syllables, but it was the extended poem, complete with engravings, that helped teach the alphabet while reinforcing the fearful paradigm of New England Calvinism. (Figure 1.3) From first stanza, letter A's "In Adam's fall; We sinned all" the child learned they lived with original sin and were guilty from birth.[102] Stanzas such as "Thy Life to Mend; This Book Attend"[103] and "My Book and Heart; Shall never part"[104] reinforced the essential lesson of grounding truth in the written word. Others repeated the lesson that fear was central to the development of wisdom such as: "As runs the Glass[105]; Mans life doth pass," "Job feels the Rod; Yet believes God,"[106] "Time cuts

[100] Ford, 82-85; Daniel A. Cohen, 53.
[101] David H. Watters, "'I Spake as a Child': Authority, Metaphor, and 'The New England Primer,'" *Early American Literature*. 20 (Winter 1985/1986): 194.
[102] Watters, 201.
[103] Ford, 155.
[104] Ford, 156.
[105] i.e. "hour glass."

down all; Both great and small," "Xerxes the great did die, And so must you & I." The letter Y reminded children of their own mortality with an image of a large goat-legged demon striking a small child with an arrow, followed by the stanza "Youth forward flips, Death soonest nips."[107] The letter F worked to reinforce discipline in the academic world by informing students "The Idle Fool; Is whipt at School"[108] accompanied by an ominous teacher standing outside of the school house brandishing a long whip.

In addition to the Lord's Prayer, *The New England Primer* included a number of prayers intended for memorization. "The Dutiful Child's Promise" for example opens with lines that drive home the obedient and fearful ideal of a good childhood in Puritan New England:

> I will fear GOD, and honour the KING.
> I will honor my Father & Mother.
> I will Obey my Superiors,
> I will Submit to my Elders,
> I will Love my Friends,
> I will hate no Man.[109]

Other verses included in the *Primer* reminded children not only of fear and obedience, but also the need to avoid sin and play.

> Good children must,
> Fear God all day, Love Christ alway, (sic)

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[106] Ford 156.
[107] Ford, 158.
[108] Ford, 155.
[109] Ford, 159.

Parents obey, In secret pray,
No false things say, Mind little play,
By no sin stray, Make no delay,
In doing good.[110]

Another prayer included in the Primer served as a bed time ritual, gently reminding children of their own mortality and the uncertainness of life as they drifted off to sleep.

Now I lay me down to sleep.
I pray the Lord my soul to keep,
If I should die before I wake,
I pray the Lord my soul to take.[111]

Throughout the *New England Primer*, the central themes of dominance, uncertainty, and fear emerged as the most important lessons cultivated in the minds of children. These themes were not exclusive to the Puritan orientation to their children, they also aptly described their understanding of the wilderness beyond their fragile settlements.

In the years after King Philip's War, the young lad who had counted coup against the severed head of the Algonquin leader grew to become one of the most prolific writers and influential preachers in New England. Cotton Mather (b. 1663- d. 1728) wrote histories of New England, investigated the Salem witch trials, published essays on a wide variety of topics including education and parenting, and served as the vocal mouthpiece of Puritan Boston. Cotton Mather was born into a family of influential Puritan ministers.

[110] Munsell, 22.
[111] Munsell, 23.

His father, Increase Mather was a prominent Boston minister as were his grandparents Richard Mather and John Cotton. But it was his pen that gave him a strong and lasting voice, as well as his involvement in the challenges faced by the second and third generation Puritans of New England.

In 1692, a hysteria broke out in Salem, Massachusetts that quickly spread throughout the colony and drew in its most prominent minister. Cotton Mather investigated the trials, publishing his account in October 1692 under the title *The Wonders of the Invisible World: Being an Account of the Tryals of Several Witches lately Executed in New-England.* His text illustrated how deeply the Puritans associated the wilderness with the devil and the particular dangers that children faced while living so close to Satan in the wild. According to his work, the physical experiences and hardships that occurred through natural disasters as well as the crisis related to witchcraft were the result of the supernatural and invisible world of Satan, and the Dark One was gaining strength because Puritan children were not being raised well.

Mather claimed that the Devil sought his vengeance where he was hated the most, and therefore if New England was populated with the most God-fearing and pious Christians in the world, then the Devil would be particularly aggressive toward them.[112] By Mather's reckoning, the original colonists of New England were strong and pious, but the most recent generation of youth were wicked, ignoring their education and proving to

[112] Cotton Mather, *The Wonders of the Invisible World. Being and Account of the Tryals of Several Witches Lately Executed in New-England.* (London: John Russell Smith, 1862), 10.

be "abominably Vicious"[113] This weakness of their youthful sloth exposed the community and allowed Satan to inflict pain upon the region. Storms and tempests were tools of the Devil through which he could claim souls. Wars, especially those as savage as King Philip's War, were particularly effective in claiming many lives over a very short period of time. Natural forces such as fires and earthquakes resulted from supernatural causes; earthquakes literally being the Devil breaking through the earth itself. But the Devil could not only work through the forces of nature, he could also work through the self, by bewitching those who strayed from the faith. The evils of the day were greater in the 1690s than in the generations before because the sins of the people were greater, and for that reason New Englanders must act.[114]

Throughout his text, Mather regularly used the term "Wilderness" as a metaphor for the temptations and assaults of the Devil upon the Christian soul. He explained that the intrusion of the Puritans into the New England Wilderness was of particular offence to Satan because it had once been a stronghold of his power. Fires, wars, Indian attacks, shipwrecks, earthquakes, and witchcraft were all signs of the Devil's assault on New England.[115] The holy war was fought through the land itself. But if the landscape of New England was a sign of the supernatural degradation, it was also a tool to guide and assess moral behavior. A good Christian could learn right action from studying the forces of nature. Destructive natural forces emerged when Satan gained power, and that only happened when New Englanders disappointed God. The natural world did not

[113] Mather, *The Wonders of the Invisible World,* 12.
[114] Mather, *The Wonders of the Invisible World,* 52-60.
[115] Mather, *The Wonders of the Invisible World,* 75.

contain moral and spiritual truths, but it served as a divine litmus test, revealing when Christians failed to follow the literal Word of God. The lesson of wilderness was the need to repent.

The strength of New England, and the possibility of success, rested not on the rugged individualism that would later define Western pioneers, Mather saw the answer in community. The Devil was the common enemy of all New Englanders. If they forgot that, then they would turn against each other, allowing him to inflict great pains and tear the community apart through witchcraft. To survive, New Englanders needed to strengthen and maintain that community. The children of New England had dealt the first blow when their playful adoption of superstitions games pleased the Devil, thereby giving him an entrance into their communities, homes, and nurseries.[116] This doorway to sin was opened wider by their parents, who chose to build homes geographically farther and farther from the community and their neighbors. Mather wrote, "so many of the *Rising Generation*, utterly forgetting the Errand of our Fathers to build Churches in this Wilderness, and so many of our *Cottages* being allow'd to Live, where they do not, and perhaps cannot, wait upon God with the Churches of His People; 'tis as likely as any one thing to procure the swarmings of *Witch crafts* among us."[117] As parents moved their homes farther into the wilderness, they became more distanced from their church community. The result was that children would be less able to learn their lessons in church, and therefore they would fall into sin and corruption. For Mather and his fellow

[116] Mather, *The Wonders of the Invisible World.*, 96.
[117] Mather, *The Wonders of the Invisible World, 102.*

Puritans, the wilderness was the Devil's stronghold. Even Jesus was tempted by Satan in the wilderness, how could young children resist unless they had their community and a strong education to protect them?

The Calvinism of Mather and Bunyan framed the perspective of wilderness for early New Englanders. Experiences like Salem's witch crisis, King Philip's War, and other conflicts and natural disasters throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries showed the supernatural as something real, rational, and to be expected. Those tragedies were taken as proof of this vision of wilderness. This crushing fear and post-traumatic stress contributed to the events in Salem in 1692. The young girls who had witnessed first-hand the horrors brought on by the wilderness saw spectral images of Indians and condemned their neighbors as witches.[118] Interaction with wilderness during this period was not something that uplifted or built character. It was a degrading and destructive force on the soul. The Puritans were engaged in a project to civilize the wilderness, but in the 1690s they were faced with the possibility that this wilderness might be uncivilizing them.

The end of King Philip's War did not bring peace to the frontier of New England and later captivity experiences raised new questions about the risks posed by a close connection to the wilderness. The small Connecticut River settlement of Pocumtuck had been destroyed during King Phillip's War and abandoned for decades and even after it was resettled, this time under the name of Deerfield, it still maintained a precarious

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[118] Mary Beth Norton. *In the Devil's Snare: The Salem Witchcraft Crisis of 1692*. (New York: Knopf, Borzoi Books, 2002).

position. Six times in the 1690s it was attacked by Native American war parties but a massacre on February 29, 1704 would imposed a new threat of Indian Captivity.[119] After the raid, 109 of the settlers were held captive and marched to Quebec. This wilderness journey, chronicled by Rev. John Williams, resulted in a captivity narrative that paralleled many of the themes of Mary Rowlandson's account. Williams had suffered greatly during the journey, losing his wife, Eunice Mather[120] along the way. Like Rowlandson's account, Rev. Williams' captivity experience was a trial that allowed a pious Christian to better know God. By maintaining faith through such extreme hardship, he was able to experience fully the strength of God's protection. After being returned to Boston from Quebec, Williams could speak with great authority from the pulpit because he had personally undergone this glorifying experience in the wilderness.[121] But there was a darker question that the Puritans needed to face. Not all of the surviving captives from Deerfield returned from Quebec. Some chose to stay in the wilderness beyond the bounds of New England and these Deerfield captives were not entirely unique. Many captives, often children, chose to stay with their Native American captors, rejecting English civilization for Indian wilderness and Puritan Calvinism for the Jesuits of Quebec. Such losses were viewed as great victories for the Devil, strengthening the

[119] John Demos, *The Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story From Early America.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), 7.
[120] Cotton Mather's cousin.
[121] Demos, 61-63.

resolve of the New England Puritans to focus their energies on protecting their children from such a fate.[122]

Cotton Mather directed his attention on protecting the souls of children from this end in 1699 with a pamphlet titled *A Family Well-Ordered or An Essay to Render Parents and Children Happy in One Another*. In it, Mather outlined the appropriate means and goals of educating the children of New England, as well as the larger social consequences of failure in this area. He argued that families were the building blocks of society, and that just as New Englanders were the children of God and therefore cared for by Him, so too must New Englanders care for their own children. The first step in raising good children was to make sure that the parents were pious themselves. The challenge was greater than just serving as a positive role model. Mather observed, "there is a Corrupt Nature in thy children, which is a Fountain of all Wickedness and Confusion."[123] To address this, he argued children needed to be taught to "Read, and Write, and Cyphar, and be put unto some Agreeable Callings; and not only our Sons, but our Daughters also should be taught such things."[124] Because the nature of children was seen as corrupt, the flow of education should come from external sources. Students needed to memorize their catechisms and important scriptural passages and parents needed to regularly remind and

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[122] John Demos describes the march through the wilderness as one of acculturation. There was the pain of loss of home and family as well as the physical burdens of the journey, but in the process of this the children would also have observed the Iroquois cultural commitment to equality. Food was shared, even when it was scarce, issues were resolved with negotiation, and help was given when needed. Demos, 151.
[123] Cotton Mather, *A Family Well-Ordered or An Essay to Render Parents and Children Happy in One Another*. (*http://sowersseedreprints.com/uploads/A_Family_Well_Ordered_-_Cotton_Mather.pdf, Accessed on 1/2/2014), 4.*
[124] Mather, *A Family Well-Ordered*, 6.

reinforce the learning whenever opportunities existed, aggressively driving out the darkness within children's nature.

Maintaining authority was also essential in raising a child, but "Our Authority should be so Tempered with Kindness, and Meekness, and Loving Tenderness, that our Children may Fear us with Delight, and see that we Love them, with as much Delight."[125] Children should fear their parents just as they fear God, with delight. Mather strongly supported the use of corporal punishment, but noted that the parent should never turn to the rod while angry. Only after tempers have cooled should the child be punished, and then they should be consoled immediately afterward.[126]

The central goal of Mather's model of education was to provide children with the understanding of how to find salvation, follow God, and teach others to do the same. Good parents must be zealous about teaching their children the proper prayers, but the responsibility does not rest solely on mothers and fathers. Mather gave children responsibility as well, stressing that they must listen to and obey their parents at all times, or else they will bring down "the Curse of God."[127] To sin against your parents was to bring on the great weight of an angry God.

> Undutiful children soon become horrid Creatures, for Unchastity, for Dishonesty, for Lying, and all manner of Abominations: And the Contempt which they cast upon the Advice of their Parents, is one thing that pulls down this Curse of God upon them. They who sin against their Parents, are sometimes by God given up to Sin against all the world beside. Mind the Most Scandalous Instances of Wickedness and Villainy;

[125] Mather, *A Family Well-Ordered,* 8.
[126] Mather, *A Family Well-Ordered,* 9.
[127] Mather, *A Family Well-Ordered,* 15.

> You'll ordinarily find, they were first Undutiful Children, before they fell into the rest of their atrocious Wickedness.[128]

Once a child starts to disobey parental authority, it was a short and slippery slope to damnation. Mather felt that even God would forsake such a sinner. Just in case this fire and brimstone approach wasn't effective enough, Mather followed it up with a more detailed description of what undutiful children could expect. "And whither shall the Children of the Devil go, but into the Everlasting Fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels? The Fiends of Darkness, will be the Ravens, and the Eagles, that shall fasten their Talons, in the Eyes of those Children."[129]

Mather's community orientation to the raising of children extended this need for respect beyond the biological boundaries of family units. Children were required to demonstrate their respect to all types of parents, including those in political, ecclesiastical, or academic roles. The parent-child relationship existed between tutor and student, with the teacher being as responsible to the student as that child's parent. In this way, the community was bound closely together with the mutual responsibility of raising the child. Education was a social and spiritual process serving to bind the community and resist the Devil together, holding back the conditions that led to the witch crisis seven years earlier. And just as stockades and block houses needed to be constructed in order to hold back physical assaults, high quality schools also needed to be organized to hold back spiritual invasion. "A woeful purification threatens the Rising Generation;" he wrote. "Barbarous Ignorance, and the unavoidable consequence of it, Outrageous

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[128] Mather, *A Family Well-Ordered,* 16.
[129] Mather, *A Family Well-Ordered,* 19.

Wickedness will make the Rising Generation Loathsome, if it have not Schools to preserve it."[130] This appeal for education extended also to the civic leaders and general courts, accusing anyone who tried to cut back on support for schools as being in direct support of the Devil. The consequence of decreasing educational funding would be to "expose themselves to that Rebuke of God, Thou has destroyed thyself, O New England."[131]

In his closing benediction, Mather wove together the imagery of New England wilderness with the need for education as the salvation of the community.

> And, O thou Saviour, and Shepherd of Thy New-English Israel: Be Entreated Mercifully to look down upon the Flocks in the Wilderness. Oh, give us not up to the Blindness and Madness of neglecting the Lambs in the Flocks. Inspire thy People, and all Orders of men among thy People with a just care for the Education of Posterity. Let Well-Ordered and well-instructed and well-maintained Schools, be the Honour and Defense of our Land. Let Learning, and all the Helps and Means of it, be precious in our Esteem and by Learning, let the Interests of thy Gospel so prevail, that we may be made wise unto Salvation. Save us, O our Lord JESUS CHRIST. Save us from the Mischiefs and Scandals of an Uncultivated Offspring; Let this be a Land of Light, unto Thou, O Sun of Righteousness, do Thyself arise unto the World with Healing in thy Wings. Amen.[132]

The way to protect New England's civilization and posterity from the demonic encroachment of the wilderness was to fortify it with schools, bastions of education cutting paths in the forest for salvation.

Beyond the coastal settlements of Salem and Boston, in the settlements along the Connecticut River, a different metaphysic was taking root by the early and mid-

[130] Mather, *A Family Well-Ordered,* 29.
[131] Mather, *A Family Well-Ordered,* 30.
[132] Mather, *A Family Well-Ordered,* 30.

eighteenth century following what Perry Miller called "a wilderness pattern."[133] From this pattern sprang the religious movement known as the Great Awakening and its most recognizable preacher, Jonathan Edwards (b. 1703- d. 1758). This religion of the senses erupted in the Connecticut Valley as a direct challenge to scholastic faith and rigid order defined by Boston and Cambridge. It was a faith rooted in the closer relationship to nature experienced in the western portions of New England. Miller says of it "that the Great Awakening was the point at which the wilderness took over the task of defining the objectives of the Puritan errand. . . because Jonathan Edwards was the child of the wilderness as well as of Puritanism."[134] The faith that Edwards found in the Pioneer Valley contained a deep and profoundly real sense of power, a faith described by him and his followers as "experiential."[135] When this movement led to Edwards' banishment from the respectable pulpits of New England, he journeyed deeper into the wilderness, ministering to the Stockbridge Indians in the Berkshire Hills. From that vantage point, Edwards began to see God rather than Satan in the natural world. As Miller explains, Edwards came to believe that God created the world as an exercise of self-expression, like an artist, and that this art was most clearly seen in the wilderness. Nonetheless, Edwards believed that the land did not hold moral lessons. Edwards did not believe Creation was designed for that purpose. Regardless, humans were too corrupted to understand anyway, their interpretive lens was too clouded with original sin.[136]

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[133] Miller, 17.
[134] Miller, 153.
[135] Slotkin, 71.
[136] Miller, 194-5.

The metaphorical and literary perspective the Puritans had of wilderness was reinforced by the physical experience and early history of New England. Wilderness represented the extreme opposite of a civilized and Godly life. It was dark, deceptive, sinful, and dangerous. It obscured what was good in the world and allowed Satan to lead an unsuspecting Christian down a dark path. But in its darkness it also provided a clarifying light. For the Christian traveler in the wilderness, whether on a path to the Celestial City or Quebec, the wilderness provided an environment to discover how deeply God loved his lambs. The experience may have been harsh and painful, but if the traveler kept to the Word of God, then the journey led to grace. This wilderness experience also mirrored the Puritan classrooms of New England, just as much as the evils of wilderness resonated in the nature of the Puritan child. If left uneducated, the child too would reveal a dark, deceptive, sinful, and dangerous character, turning to witchcraft or savagery and bringing down their parents and the community. The child must be cultivated, through the use of fear, corporal punishment, and the constant reminder that the senses should not be trusted. Only the Bible provided a way to truth. Just as the wilderness needed to be broken to complete the Puritan mission, so too must the child be broken. Rote memorization should replace independent and impulsive thought, and the child needed to learn submission to authority, both divine and parental. But with Jonathan Edwards' theological rebellion came the First Great Awakening, threatening the academic rigor of New England's established church. If nature was the artistic expression of God and physical engagement could unlock knowledge experientially, then the door was open for an educational revolution.

An Enlightened Revolution in an Educational Wilderness

The American Revolution occurred amidst a larger intellectual movement known as the Enlightenment. Enlightenment thinkers looked to reason and scientific study as a means to interpret reality and discover truth. In this way, they rejected strict Calvinist theology and placed a greater emphasis on the observable physical world around them. While parents who had embraced evangelical and Puritan approaches worked to crush their children's nature into submission, parents of the Enlightenment took a more nurturing approach, expecting their children to develop responsibility without the need for submission to authority.[137] The Revolution helped to advance this anti-authoritarian ideology, critical of kings, patriarchy and social hierarchy.[138] The moderate secular Enlightenment approach pushed for autonomy as the key virtue to cultivate, with independence and good citizenship as the spiritual, educational, and political goals. The ideal youth followed a path like Benjamin Franklin (b.1705/6-d. 1790), who left his home in Boston to find success in Philadelphia and recognition around the world.[139] Franklin's model illustrated the titanic shift in pedagogic ideals. He abandoned the path set out by his parents and the dominant Puritan culture of Boston in favor of his own interests and abilities. His foundation for truth came from within himself, tested through experience and hard work. In trusting his own choices, Franklin should have found the damnation that Mather predicted, but instead he founded a new nation.

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[137] Illick, 30.
[138] Steven Mintz, *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood.* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), 54.
[139] Illick, 32.

During and after the American Revolution, the nation experienced political innovations and social changes that extended from the halls of government and academia to the hearth and home. In the years before the Revolution, the curricula of the nine American colleges expanded beyond purely theological topics to incorporate greater Enlightenment oriented disciplines such as moral philosophy, ancient and modern history, and natural sciences.[140] These fields were considered necessary to live in the new republic. At the same time, the corresponding shift from salvation to citizenship as the goal of education gave mothers a new patriotic role in teaching their children. For democracy to survive, future generations needed to be well educated and that meant that mothers also needed to be both well-educated and politically aware in order to best serve their children. This concept, known as *Republican Motherhood*, altered the social roles of women in the early years of the American Republic, giving them a significant role in the social function of education.[141]

Rejecting the Divine Right of Kings, Enlightened Americans embraced neo-classical ideals focused on the art, architecture, and literature of Ancient Greece and Rome. A new educational curriculum incorporated Homer, Virgil, and a more classical approach to virtue and character development than the biblically centered approach of the Puritans. The Enlightenment perspective embraced science as a rational tool to interpret Creation, and therefore the wilderness became a new textbook to learn and study, not a source of evil intended only to test faith.

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[140] Mintz, 69.
[141] Linda Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).

Meanwhile, the wilderness of New England was losing its existential threat. Native American raids became a distant memory and the frontiers of the White and Green Mountains became more settled and orderly. The icy Puritan fear was melting and Enlightenment reason was blowing into the mountain valleys of New England.

Enlightenment thinker John Locke (b. 1632 – d. 1704) exerted a profound influence on the leaders of the American Revolution. Locke's concept of the social contract laid a foundation for the American government and his perspective on youth development suggested an Enlightened approach to an American education as well. Because his books were so widespread and his ideas echoed in both popular and scholarly writing, Locke can be considered one of the most important figures in the changing attitudes toward children.[142] Locke believed in education through primary experience, that seeing through another person's eyes did not lead a child to their own knowledge, and therefore knowledge gained in a school room was not knowledge at all. For him, a child's education should be physical and experiential, not instructional.[143] Only knowledge gained from reason was real, but because young children were not yet capable of reason, their education should be focused on physical health and the development of good habits, specifically the cultivation of industry. Children who learned how to be industrious would then be able to teach themselves any subject they needed later in life, allowing them to be more independent and intrinsically motivated.[144] In 1693, Locke

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[142] Margaret J. M. Ezell, "John Locke's Images of Childhood: Early Eighteenth Century Response to Some Thoughts Concerning Education," *Eighteenth Century Studies* 17 (Winter 1983-1984): 155.
[143] John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, ed. R. H. Quick (Cambridge: The University Press, 1892), xvii.
[144] Locke, xviii.

extended his philosophical position to youth development through his book *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*. The book was extremely popular, going through more than a dozen printings before the mid-eighteenth century, and provoked less controversy than any of his other works, suggesting that it was widely accepted.[145] His opening statement identified how unique and revolutionary his perspective was: "A Sound Mind in a sound Body, is a short, but full Description of a happy State in this World."[146] At the same time that Cotton Mather was blaming the misfortunes of New England and the hysteria of witchcraft on undutiful children failing to attend to their spiritual responsibilities, John Locke saw the focus of education as being about attaining happiness in a physical and material world. By the end of the nineteenth century, this ideal of a "Sound Mind in a sound Body", either in English or the Latin *mens sana in corpore sano* would become a fundamental goal of American outdoor educators. Mather's ideal was receding as Locke's tide was rolling in.

Locke's support for a curriculum based in outdoor education was essential to the early education of children. The first building block of education was physical health. He believed children required physical activity and exposure to the harsh conditions of winter and summer hardened students to the challenges of life. Experiencing the extremes of weather led to a stronger and healthier adulthood for girls as well as boys. Rejecting the idea that girls were weaker than boys, Locke advocated for all children to grow up with lots of time in the outdoors regardless of the weather so that they would

[145] Ezell, 147.
[146] Locke, 1.

become strong adults. Learning how to swim was essential to the education of a child, both for the physical benefits and the potential survival skill that it provided later in life.[147] This Spartan virtue of Locke's model for early education laid a stone from the Enlightenment in the foundation of outdoor education.

For eighteenth-century thinkers who had been influenced by Locke, the goal of education was the development of virtue. This character education developed an internal locus of control allowing the child to express their independence and grow to be an active member of society and a good citizen. The student was the center of the learning process. Subject matter and academic disciplines were only tools to provide development and exercise virtue. Academic knowledge was not the goal of the learning process, but rather the development of the child's character was the aim of education.[148] Locke argued that children should be treated with respect as rational human beings, or at least individuals who were becoming rational human beings.[149] Because of this, he was harshly critical of corporal punishment, but he also opposed using rewards in disciplining a child, believing both approaches encouraged vice. Esteem and disgrace were the only real rewards and punishments in Locke's worldview because they developed from within, building character rather than dependence.[150] Similarly, Locke frowned on rules, believing students should be nurtured to practice virtuous habits in their lives.[151] Learning from

[147] Locke, 2-7.
[148] Locke, 75.
[149] Ezell, 152.
[150] Locke, 32-34.
[151] Locke, 39.

examples was the best way to incorporate these habits into one's character, whether those habits were observed in a parent, a teacher, or a national figure like Benjamin Franklin.

Locke advocated fostering a child's curiosity rather than crushing it as Mather argued.[152] By stimulating curiosity, children developed a love for learning and the acquisition of knowledge becomes a type of play.[153] Stimulating curiosity was the best means to capture the child's attention, and Enlightenment educators were focused on how to best capture and direct a child's attention as the first step in education.[154] Children also preferred to be active, and not idle, and so it was important for parents and teachers to provide an environment where children could actively learn and engage. Instead of store bought toys, children should use what they find as their playthings (pebbles, paper, keys, etc.) so that they would become more inventive by nature, never needing to rely on the external objects provided by others to engage play and imagination.[155] Play was a natural ally in student learning and development because children were intrinsically motivated to play. If reading were treated as play, as something for recreation, then students would be more motivated to practice. Locke advocated for children's books to also include pictures because they would not only grab the child's attention, but they would also help to expand the child's base of experience and understanding of the material. Visual imagery allowed the child to formulate initial ideas about the content,

[152] Locke, 87.
[153] Locke, 104.
[154] Noah W. Sobe, "Concentration and Civilisation: Producing the Attentive Child in the Age of Enlightenment," *Paedagogica Historica*. 46 (February-April 2010): pp 149-160.
[155] Locke, 110-113.

which later could be the basis for deeper and richer experiences.[156] Locke was also supportive of moveable books, a forerunner to modern pop-up books that included flaps and other moveable parts allowing children to more fully interact with the text. These books gained in popularity throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, including a version of *Pilgrim's Progress* published in 1809.[157] These books heightened the association between learning and play. Games also could be used to teach reading and the alphabet, exciting the child to learn and freeing parents from having to continually redirect their children back to their studies. Locke suggested a game where letters were placed on dice and children would roll them and spell what words they could with the letters that appeared.[158] And once children start reading, they should focus on entertaining stories like *Aesop's Fables* to develop a love for reading rather than the repetition of a text like the *New England Primer*.[159]

In focusing on the physical and recreational needs of children, incorporating play as an essential tool, Locke identified an alternative route to developing the child. In addition to the central role that swimming played in education, children should learn dancing, music, riding and fencing, although the latter ran a dangerous risk of making children quick to enter duels and thereby forfeit their lives.[160] Locke focused on the education of the wealthy elites, but even among that population, he argued for the need to

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[156] Gillian Brown, "The Metaphoric Book: Children's Print Culture in the Eighteenth Century," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 39 (Spring 2006): 352-353.
[157] Brown, 358.
[158] Yes, it does appear that John Locke, the philosopher who inspired the American Revolution, also inspired the Hasbro game *Boggle*.
[159] Locke, 131.
[160] Locke, 175.

develop skills needed for a manual trade linking mind and body within the practice of a physical craft.[161] Locke's approach to education, focused on developing an independent and vibrant child, foreshadowed much of what the outdoor education movement would adopt in its early years. The belief that a child's nature can and should be harnessed as the main engine of learning and that play was a viable and even preferred route to knowledge were in dramatic opposition to earlier paradigms.

In the years after the Revolution, the *Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin* became one of the most popular and important books in American education. As a founding father who grew to almost mythic proportions during the early decades of the American Republic, Franklin became an essential image in the construction of national identity.[162] Following Locke's model, Franklin's book demonstrated how the virtues of hard work, temperance, and self-improvement led to a level of personal success that helped the Republic and all of its citizens. A man of very little schooling, Franklin became one of the most honored and successful scholars of his generation. He was the perfect example of Locke's ideal student, mastering industry first, and then following scholarly pursuits. Raised in Puritan Boston, Franklin rejected the harsh Calvinism of his past and served as a role model for the Revolutionary generation and those that came after. His *Autobiography* served as an instructional guide for habits and virtue, presenting a case for the growth and development of the self through practice and self-improvement, with order, structure, and practice as the pathway to success.

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[161] Locke, 177. This idea also mirrored the Arts and Crafts movement that would play a major role in the pedagogy of twentieth century outdoor education.

[162] Carla Mulford, "Figuring Benjamin Franklin in American Cultural Memory," *The New England Quarterly*. 72 (September 1999): pp. 415-443.

If Franklin served as a role model to youth, he was illustrating an alternative to the traditional path. Quitting formal schooling at age 10, young Benjamin focused on learning a practical trade.[163] His was not an education focused on the preparation of the soul, but rather a more pragmatic materialism. Franklin notes regularly his fondness for reading, starting with his first book, John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, as well as the writings of Cotton Mather. In a revealing time management decision, Franklin was so focused on his reading that he would regularly skip church on Sunday and read in the print shop where he worked.[164] Franklin's model was one of a disciplined, but self-directed student focused on independent reading driven by his own interests. He embraced a Socratic approach that questioned established notions and he challenged authority as a means to assert his individuality. He may have been reading Cotton Mather, but he was certainly not following the preacher's advice. Franklin's *Autobiography* spilled little ink on religious devotion, for him the most important cardinal virtues were focused on the material present, "truth, sincerity, and integrity in dealings between man and man."[165]

Writing in the twilight of his life, Franklin acknowledged that one of his primary motivations in telling his life story was to provide a positive influence on American youth. The values of industry, frugality, and temperance emphasized throughout his book were essential for the children of the young Republic and formed a critique of the

[163] Benjamin Franklin, *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Gordon S. Haight. (New York: Walter J. Black, 1941), 12-13.
[164] Franklin, 18-23.
[165] Franklin, 88.

more common approaches to American education.[166] In a letter from Benjamin Vaughn included in the text, Vaughn argued that schools have false principles and miss the mark, but that Franklin's approach of self-education would teach American children about the private and public character needed to build the nation. Franklin could assume the role of an American Tacitus or Caesar in his influence on succeeding generations.[167] Vaughn saw Franklin's *Art of Virtue* as a means to educate an egalitarian population, where no one should be ashamed of their origin as it was "nature, virtue, thought, and habit" that led to wisdom and success.[168] In Franklin's model, hard work and temperance led to success, not prayer and grace. The sources were internal, not external and they were factors which a young person could control. With a child's nature as the starting point, character could be honed down and improved through the regular practice of good habit.

Taking up a theme that would become manifest in the Boy Scout Law of the twentieth century, Franklin developed a list of laws grounded in a literary and classical approach to morality, and focusing on a demonstration of virtue through action and behavior.

> 1. Temperance. Eat not to dullness; drink not to elevation.
> 2. Silence. Speak not but what may benefit others or yourself; avoid trifling conversation.
> 3. Order. Let all your things have their places; let each part of your business have its time.
> 4. Resolution. Resolve to perform what you ought; perform without fail what you resolve.

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[166] Franklin, 109.
[167] Franklin, 111.
[168] Franklin, 113.

> 5. Frugality. Make no expense but to do good to others or yourself; i.e., waste nothing.
> 6. Industry. Lose no time; be always employed in something useful; cut off all unnecessary actions.
> 7. Sincerity. Use no hurtful deceit; think innocently and justly, and, if you speak, speak accordingly.
> 8. Justice. Wrong none by doing injuries or omitting the benefits that are your duty.
> 9. Moderation. Avoid extremes; forebear resenting injuries so much as you think they deserve.
> 10. Cleanliness. Tolerate no uncleanliness in body, clothes, or habitation.
> 11. Tranquility. Be not disturbed at trifles, or at accidents common or unavoidable.
> 12. Chastity. Rarely use venery but for health or offspring, never to dullness, weakness, or the injury of your own or another's peace or reputation.
> 13. Humility. Imitate Jesus and Socrates.[169]

Although not grounded exclusively on the Word of God, Franklin located his model in a list of words that should be transformed and cultivated into behaviors. Included in his model of virtuous education were the instructions for keeping a diary and a grid to monitor and measure moral development through simple accounting practices. Self-reflection and personal accountability became the essential practices needed to develop character in Franklin's model.[170] His hourly accounting of his daily activities provided an additional reminder of the importance of order, focus, and rational thought in the mind of this Enlightenment scientist.[171] Strict order and structure, a clearly defined code of virtues, and the belief that any person could develop the skills needed to become successful in this world, *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin* could have been an early draft of the *Boy Scout Handbook*.

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[169] Franklin, 130-131.
[170] Franklin, 132.
[171] Franklin, 136.

A similar Enlightenment view of human nature appeared in the landscapes painted in New England during the Revolutionary and Federalist periods. New England homeowners who decorated their walls and mantles with landscapes captured a bright and organized perspective of the land that reflected a positive view of the land. These early American landscapes did not portray the fearful and demonic wilderness that the Puritans envisioned, but a more idyllic and Arcadian image of order and man working in harmony with the natural world. In *Landscape (View of a Town)* by an unidentified artist after 1753 (Figure 1.4), the river that bisects the canvas balances a cultivated and tightly organized New England town, complete with steepled white Meeting House on one side, balanced by a more forested but not pristine landscape on the other. The commerce of the ships and the recreating citizens on both sides of the river show a harmony between civilization and the wilderness. There are no threatening hints of danger striking from the wild, but rather a relaxed atmosphere where women and children can frolic and feed the swans. The *Overmantle from the Reverend Joseph Wheeler House*, 1787-1793, (Figure 1.5) portrays an even more structured and organized settlement. With evenly spaced and cultivated trees linking the village with the outlining homesteads. Above, a benign light blue sky with small cumulus clouds suggests fair weather over the village. Ralph Earl's *Looking Eastward from Denny Hill*, 1800, (Figure 1.6) is an idyllic and pastoral image capturing the rolling hills of eastern Massachusetts, with cleared fields and the white steeple of a Meeting House. The dark forces of the wilderness have been driven from this view of New England, as the rising sun strikes its first rays of light across the cleared fields and tightly bound woodlots. All three of these images represent a level of human

dominance and control over the land that allows such orderliness and structure. Like Franklin's neatly organized grid for moral development, these landscapes reserved specific areas for specific uses. Cultivating the character of the land based on the assumption that man's reason can drive out fear and danger to create a better future. The land was a garden, not wilderness. Rational approaches cultivated a child's virtues just as effectively as it could cultivate the landscape. The sinful danger that lurked in the wilderness of Puritan New England seemed superstitious in this light. There was little to fear that science and reason could not understand and control.

After the Revolutionary War, changes in the political ideology of New England were expressed in American pedagogy. Copies of the *New England Primer* were modified with references to the king replaced by affirmations of liberty and the frontispiece that had once represented the king replaced with images of John Hancock, Samuel Adams, or George Washington.[172] The changing relationship between man and nature also impacted educational philosophy. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Americans believed in the educative value of the natural world and that the best approach to teaching the young citizens was to cultivate their virtue, drawing out their inherent worth rather than crushing their sinful natures. It was but the first step towards a pedagogy of outdoor education.

[172] Ford, 62, 104.

Chapter 2: Romantic Revolutions in the Wilderness

Enlightenment age thinkers may have painted a bright picture of New England, but their cool reason and lack of passion left many in the early nineteenth century looking for an alternative to the rational, logical, and objective view of the world. In addition, the dramatic transformations in government and religion occurring in the post-Revolutionary years were also up-ending the economy and the society of New England. The first decades of the new republic were a period where the past no longer defined the present; old assumptions of power, identity, and society were cast off, leaving people feeling anxious, unmoored and detached from the world they had known. Spurred on by cultural changes from increasing industrialization and market transformation, these Americans were drawn to something more emotional, passionate, and often more dark and sublime. As a response, a literary and artistic movement called Romanticism emerged which returned the chaotic divine powers of the sublime to balance a rational and ordered civilization. Authors and artists who rallied to the banner of Romanticism sought a level of authenticity in their work, something that transcended the mass produced materialism rolling out from the new mills and the fickle and reactive markets that dominated the new economy. For them authenticity was more important than efficiency.[173]

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[173] Daniel Walker Howe, *Making the American Self: Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln.* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997); Lewis Perry, *Boats Against the Current: American Culture between Revolution and Modernity, 1820-1860.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Jeffrey Sklansky, *The Soul's Economy: Market Society and Selfhood in American Thought*. (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

With this rise of Romanticism, the first real seeds of outdoor education were planted. The outdoor experiential education movement that exploded across the United States in the first years of the twentieth century was a form of pedagogic Romanticism built upon a foundation of the anti-modernism from the early nineteenth century. Romanticism presented a close association with wilderness as an ideal relation between humanity and the natural world while also maintaining a positive view of human nature specifically in regard to children. Modern civilization threatened both nature and humanity; just as the natural world was poisoned by civilization, so too were children poisoned by modernity. From this perspective, the only appropriate way to educate children was to maintain and strengthen the relationship between the child and the natural world, thereby preserving both. America's exceptionalism was, romantics argued, rooted in a personal relationship with the wilderness and the natural landscape would be society's saving grace in the face of urbanization and mechanization. Likewise, if youth were the future, then they were also the salvation from the industrial dystopia that transformed the United States throughout the nineteenth century. Linking the land with youth was essential if an American character was going to blossom and thrive. Summer camps, playgrounds, and outdoor education programs did not emerge at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but the characters, images, and ideals that were articulated in the work of the early American Romantics crafted the motifs that became the themes of the movement in the twentieth century. Understanding the popularity of those images is fundamental to understanding the widespread adoption of scouting, camping, and similar programs throughout the twentieth century.

King Philip Rises Again

As the eighteenth century gave way to the nineteenth, the landscape of the Atlantic seaboard had changed dramatically from the dark wilderness of Cotton Mather and his Puritan fellows. The rising confidence brought on by a successful Revolution, expanding settlements, and growing civilization pushed the truly "wild" into the west. The sublime *mysterium tremendum* that surfaced through witchcraft and Indian warfare became a quaint superstition and nostalgia to the citizens of Boston and New York. Washington Irving, America's first great fiction writer, emerged in the context of this greater social stability. Irving's work signaled a turn in the tide regarding the idea of wilderness because he found in it certain positive values, as well as hints to the limits of civilization. Irving's *Sketch Book* of 1819, which included the tales of Rip Van Winkle, Ichabod Crane, and Philip of Pokanoket, presented a wilderness that maintained the dark pagan elements of Mather and Bunyan, but without the religious fervor and calls for damnation. For Rip Van Winkle, the mountains provided recreation through hunting and fishing, but a recreation motivated by the vice of sloth and an escape from the responsibilities of hearth and home. In the Catskills, Rip's interactions with the mischievous spirits of the mountain people led to his near ruin. These mountain people trapped the lazy hero and led him away from the virtuous path, but the result was a long nap, not eternal damnation. Irving's postscript mythologized the Catskill Mountains as the home of a squaw spirit whose pagan whims controlled the weather and perplexed the

Indians who entered the hills.[174] In associating this place with an Indian spirit rather than Jehovah, Irving trivialized the wilderness, while still retaining some of its supernatural powers.

Irving used the imagery of the Native American people as a larger metaphor for wilderness throughout the *Sketch Book*. In "Traits of Indian Character," he represented the character of the "Savages" as being reflective of their wilderness environment: "[His nature is] stern, simple, and enduring; fitted to grapple with difficulties, and to support privations."[175] They are courageous and have strength of character, but "the wilderness has blossomed into a garden" and like a wild plant, the Indian will not be able to survive in civilization.[176] Unlike Cotton Mather and the Puritans, Irving did not see the Native Americans as demonic servants of Satan. Irving predicted that both the Indian and his wilderness home would become extinct in the face of Euro-American conquest and civilization. Cotton Mather had called for an assault on Satan's stronghold of the wilderness, and from Irving's perspective the America had passed the tipping point and the inevitability that civilization would win was self-evident.

The existential threats posed by sudden raids and captivity in Quebec were things of the past for New Yorkers and New Englanders in the early nineteenth century as Irving's "Philip of Pokanoket" illustrates. His account of King Philip's War reveals a level of empathy for the Indians that Mather would never have granted. Irving explains the landscape in practical, rather than supernatural terms stressing how the tribes used the

[174] Washington Irving, *The Sketch Book* (New York: Signet Classic, 1981), 37-55.
[175] Irving, 272.
[176] Irving, 274.

wilderness as cover from which to strike and inspire fear throughout New England. Irving's King Phillip frames the Algonquin as an example of human nature without civilization's effect, a warrior chief as a noble and brave hero who met a terrible, but inevitable end.[177] Had he been "civilized" he might have lived on as the "theme of the poet and the historian" but instead he "went down, like a lonely bark foundering amid darkness and tempest – without a pitying eye to weep his fall or a friendly hand to record his struggle."[178] Irving's Indians are as much a part of the wilderness as the trees and the catamount, and although there is some value to them, they are not perfect. Irving writes, "Society is like a lawn, where every roughness is smoothed, every bramble eradicated, and where the eye is delighted by the smiling verdure of a velvet surface; he, however, who would study nature in its wildness and variety must plunge into the forest, must explore the glen, must stem the torrent, and dare the precipice."[179] Wilderness for Irving is not the source of all evil as Mather and the Puritans would have seen it; a unique individuality thrived in the mountains, but one had to escape the confines of society in order to discover it.

Irving's resurrection of King Philip had lasting effects on American culture and masked a darker reality of the changes imposed on Native American life by the United States government. Irving wrote his tale as a correction to the contemporary accounts of early histories. His King Philip was a prince and he wanted his readers to identify with Philip as someone fighting for their independence against the oppression of the

[177]Irving, 283.
[178] Irving, 299.
[179] Irving, 284.

English.[180] The popularity of Irving's representation of Philip led to one of the most popular plays in the nineteenth century, *Metamora; or Last of the Wampanoags*. First produced in 1829, *Metamora* was performed almost continuously until 1887.[181] Edwin Forrest, who played Metamora for most of the play's run, was the most famous American actor of the century and his representation of the Algonquin leader drew far more from the literary work of Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper than any actual Native American.[182] His portrayal of this myth of a noble savage and vanishing Indian did more than craft an archetype for twentieth century western movies, it also created a savage logic for a more hideous practice. Throughout the nineteenth century, the process of Indian removal dominated the relationship between Native Americans and settlers of European descent. The myth of the vanishing Indian was part of a larger cultural project that rationalized the unjust theft of land and inhumane treatment of native peoples.[183] If the vanishing of the Native American tribes was an inevitable natural process, then there was no culpability on the part of those whose actions actually led to cultural destruction. This logic of a self-fulfilling prophesy, reinforced by popular cultural constructions, like Irving's King Philip, worked as effectively as the arguments that present environmental degradation as the natural consequence of economic growth and the total exploitation of natural resources as part of God's plan. Although New Englanders, who had most effectively romanticized the King Philip myth, were among the strongest opponents to Indian removal policies, Americans in other parts of the country had no such

[180] Lepore, 196-197.
[181] Lepore, 191.
[182] Lepore, 200.
[183] Lepore, 191.

reservations.[184] Native American people in New England had not vanished, but their active tribal organizations posed no political or military threat to nineteenth-century New Englanders. Without this existential threat, New Englanders could imagine an idealized wilderness, a romanticized Indian, and identify with that cultural construction as an argument for their own unique American-ness. In having the power to make myth of the wilderness and its people, civilized people demonstrated their superiority.

Irving's juggernaut of civilization did not promise utopia however and the author doubted the strength and quality of Americans raised in this new civilized world. Although progress may have been running rampant across much of New York state, in the overlooked valley of Sleepy Hollow, one civilized man found himself unfit to survive beyond the smoothed lawns of society. Ichabod Crane was an educated man, comfortable in both the school house and the meeting house, particularly well-read in regards to the works of Cotton Mather. In this sense, he represented the ideal product of the Errand into the Wilderness, but he paled in comparison with the rustic strength of Brom Bones and the other Sleepy Hollow boys. Ichabod may have been comfortable and confident during the school day or back at home in Connecticut, but when the sun set on Sleepy Hollow and the shadows and spirits of the darkness captured his mind, he became lost, perplexed, and bewildered. Talented, educated, and civilized, Ichabod lacked the masculine strength to survive in the wild lands of America. He fantasized about courting the fair Katrina and moving west, but as an educated and civilized man, his neighbors considered him weaker and less capable than those men raised in Sleepy Hollow.

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[184] Lepore, 208.

Civilization had apparently eroded his masculinity rather than strengthened his character and when the Headless Horseman came for Ichabod, neither his psalms nor his lessons could protect him. Irving was not clear on whether Crane survived his encounter with the Headless Horseman. If Ichabod did survive the encounter, the narrator speculated that he may have been able to make a living as a lawyer, a politician, or a newspaperman, all civilized careers open to men of education who keep to the civilized world. Back in Sleepy Hollow, Hans Van Ripper decided "to send his children no more to school, observing that he never knew any good come of this same reading and writing."[185] And Brom Bones, the product of a more rustic life and eventual husband to Katrina, maintained a closer connection to these spirits of the wilderness, or at least "he knew more about the matter than he chose to tell."[186] Ichabod Crane was the cultivated a product of American education and religion, but it was the wilder Brom Bones who won the day and the girl.

Washington Irving recognized the cultural changes that were transforming the northeastern United States as it became more settled and less wild, but he was also critical of the patterns emerging in this new republic. To address these concerns, he flipped the perspective on wilderness and Native Americans from the paradigms of earlier generations. He presented the wilderness as full of spirits and darkness, but also trivialized it for entertainment and consumption, rather than the fire and brimstone of the Puritans. His Indians may have been savage and inferior to whites, but they possessed a

[185] Irving, 357.
[186] Irving, 358.

nobility that could teach lessons to nineteenth-century New Englanders. And Ichabod Crane, the product of New England education and spiritual development, was unable to withstand the direct interaction with the darker wilderness that still haunted the land and his own mind. Cotton Mather had sought to conquer the wilderness, but if vanquishing wilderness produced men like Ichabod Crane then it was not the ideal; there must be another path.

Lydia Maria Child's 1824 novel *Hobomok: A Tale of Early Times* captured a different approach to humanity's position in the relationship of wilderness and civilization. She opened the novel with an ode to the present beauty and strength of New England elevating both "her picturesque rivers, as they repose in their peaceful loveliness, the broad and sparking mirror of the heavens, -- and with the cultivated environs of her busy cities which seem every where to be blushing into a perfect Eden of fruit and flowers."[187] Her approach was not a battle cry for the destruction of wilderness, but a tempering and fusion of the civil and the wild.

> Two centuries only have elapsed, since our most beautiful villages reposed in the undisturbed grandeur of nature; -- when the scenes now rendered classic by literary associations, or resounding with the din of commerce, echoed nought (sic) but the song of the hunter, or the fleet tread of the wild deer. God was here in his holy temple, and the whole earth kept silence before him! But the voice of prayer was soon to be heard in the desert. The sun, which for ages beyond the memory of man has gazed on the strange, fearful worship of the Great Spirit of the wilderness, was soon to shed its splendor upon the altars of the living God.[188]

[187] Lydia Maria Child, *Hobomok: A Tale of Early Times* (New York: Garrett Press, Inc, 1970), 5.
[188] Child, 6.

Although the Great Spirit may be worshiped in "strange" and "fearful" ways, God existed in this wilderness and the ideal world of New England was the product of this infusion of prayer into the grandeur of nature, a hybrid of wilderness and civilization.

In Child's novel, the village of Naumkeak (Salem) in the early 1600's was a dark and miserable setting isolated from two worlds. Physically and emotionally cut off from England, the villagers longed for their old life across the Atlantic. Unlike the strong and healthy natives living in the wilderness, the settlers of Naumkeak were sickly and struggling to survive in their "miserable hovels."[189] The physical and emotional hardships of life in this wilderness had the most debilitating effect on the youth of the village. Even though the villagers were living in a community, fear, loneliness, and isolation bound them in a state of bewilderment, perpetually reminded of how close they lived to the existential threat of Indian attack. Affirming Mather's earlier accusation of the degrading impact of wilderness on youth, Child linked the dark arts with a childhood close to nature. Mary Conant, the central female character of the novel, flirted with the religion of the wilderness, witchcraft, and in the process summoned the Indian warrior Hobomok.[190] Although rooted in unchristian savagery, Hobomok's long relationship with the white settlers was assumed to have improved his character. Child wrote "His long residence with the white inhabitants of Plymouth has changed his natural fierceness of manner into a haughty, dignified reserve."[191] According to the novel, Civilization

[189] Child, 9.
[190] Child, 17.
[191] Child, 46.

imposed a corrective effect on his character. When Charles, Mary's first love, was lost at sea on a journey to England, Hobomok and Mary develop their own intimacy.

As Mary and Hobomok's relationship deepens, she begins to see him as superior to the men of the village because "his language is brief, figurative, and poetic, and whose nature was unwarped by the artifices of civilized life."[192] This civilized savage becomes the ideal for Mary because of she sees him as more authentic, meaning that he is free from the superficialities of the villagers. His character is expressed as a hybrid of wilderness and civilization, while retaining the racial limitations assumed by the dominant white culture. When Mary's true (white) love returns, Hobomok peacefully divorces Mary and heads west away from civilization. The mixed-race child of Hobomok and Mary, however, opens the door for a new possibility for American youth. Although the villagers of Naumkeak were isolated and debilitated by their longing for their homeland, little Charles Hobomok Conant is able to be both a brave young Indian and, later, a successful Harvard graduate. As he grows older, his physical appearance resembles more distinctly his maternal side, but his Native American roots lend him his father's strength of character. Unlike Pokanoket in Irving's tale, Charles Hobomok Conant demonstrated a new road for Americans in their relationship with wilderness. The existence of the child opened the possibility for a middle road between wilderness and civilization, that an American child can potentially mix both the influences of wilderness and civilization into one person. But that opportunity had definite racial limits. Pokanoket and Hobomok could not survive in the civilized world and Charles Hobomok

[192] Child, 151.

Conant is only able to thrive because his mother was white. There was value in American wilderness, value personified in literature through the representation of Native Americans. But if a consequence to civilization and modernity was a loss of that wilderness, then that distinctly American trait would also be lost in the march of progress, unless a model could be crafted that blended these traits and yielded an experiential reality. That model would need to impart the positive virtues of the American wilderness into an Anglo-American via experience, not genetics. For that model, one need only look west of the New England wilderness to the Adirondacks of New York and the Leatherstocking Tales of James Fenimore Cooper.

Last of the Mohicans, First of the Outdoor Educators

Like Child's Hobomok, Cooper's Natty Bumppo is a character whose virtue rests on his authenticity, a romanticized realism both practical and spiritual. Like Hobomok, Bumppo's life follows a westward moving arc, retreating from civilization. But Cooper's hero succeeds by leaving a metaphoric path where Child's only retreated. Through a five part series of novels published between 1823 and 1841, the character is assigned many names including Natty Bumppo, Hawkeye, Deerslayer, Pathfinder, and Le Longue Carbine, but regardless of the name he became wildly popular, finding expression on canvas and eventually on film, becoming one of the most iconic images of American wilderness in western literature. In the process, he redefined the American relationship with wilderness and provided the inspiration and archetypical experience for many of the movement's first leaders, including Robert Baden-Powell and Ernest Thompson Seton.

Natty Bumppo illustrated an educational potential that Child's Charles Hobomok Conant could not. Child's creation maintained a distinctly American character balancing wilderness and civilization on purely racial grounds. Conant was the child of an English mother and a Native American father, suggesting an authenticity resting on his genetics. Natty Bumppo was of European descent, born into the colonial culture, but whose character was formed through transformational life experiences in the wilderness and among Native People. Bumppo's authenticity could be learned and his character could be developed through experience, making his journey accessible to Americans who were looking for ways to build the character of the next generation. The catalyst for this learning was the wilderness, but not the dark Satanic wilderness of the Puritans. Cooper's was a Romantic wilderness, far more divine than the settlements in the east. The frontier that Cooper's hero explored was not just physical, but pedagogical as well.

Two major themes from the Leatherstocking tales deserve attention in regard to the outdoor education movement: the shift of religious validity from the Christian church to experience in the natural world and a rejection of academic, text-based learning in favor of an education based on primary experience. Cooper's novels asked the same questions of his culture that Mather, Bunyan, and generations of parents and teachers had asked: what are the most important values and virtues of the present and how can they be best transferred to the next generation? Cooper explored these by looking at the consequences of education. Those who were educated in a civilized, text-based school system were arrogant, deceptive, disconnected from God and nature, and unable to face the intense challenges of life without help. Natty Bumppo, educated through direct

experience in the wilderness, was honest, strong, grounded, heroic, and capable of protecting those in need. Direct primary experience in the wilderness translated to the practical and essential skills needed for moral development, but in very different ways than how the Puritans viewed it.

Cooper and Mather both saw the wilderness as an important factor in American culture, but where Mather saw it as Satan's domain and a testing ground for faith in God, Cooper saw in it the uncorrupted truth of God's creation. For Mather, civilization was the weapon to be used against wilderness and Satan. For Cooper, civilization was a weapon that only led to self-inflicted wounds. For Mather, the written word of God was the absolute truth, and as such texts, literacy, and scholarly work held the greatest moral value in education. But for Cooper, the written word concealed the corruption of civilization, expressed through legalism or science posing as wisdom. In questioning the earlier assumptions of wilderness and education, Cooper struck out on a new path and his popularity suggests that many others preferred a similar approach. By the end of the nineteenth century, thousands of young Americans would be striking out on mountain passes and paddling the waters of North America seeking the authenticity of Le Longue Carbine.

Throughout the series, Cooper repeats the heretical stance that religious validity had a firmer foundation in the wilderness than in the churches of New England or New York. This is communicated through Bumppo's conversations, the character of David the Songmaster in *The Last of the Mohicans*, and through the way Cooper transformed

the lessons of the captivity narrative motif, a literary form that he turns to frequently throughout the series. In *The Pathfinder*, Cooper's hero is asked about his religious affiliation and he responds, "Look about you, and judge for yourself. I'm in church now; I eat in church, drink in church, sleep in church. The 'arth is the temple of the Lord, and I wait on him hourly, daily, without ceasing, I humbly hope."[193] Bumppo is no pagan, but rather a Christian who has discovered a different path to salvation by learning from the wilderness, not battling against it.

The character of David Gamut, the Songmaster, in *The Last of the Mohicans* emerges as an Ichabod Crane-like figure. His awkwardness rests in large part on how out of place he is in the wilderness of New York. In the churches of the east, his musical skills and training were of great value and his unwavering faith was the ideal of any flock of congregants. But in the wilderness, his skills are useless and his religion appears impractical and comedic when life and limb are on the line.

David's religious goals meet stiff opposition when he evangelizes Natty Bumppo. When Songmaster begins to proselytize the woodsman, Bumppo rejects him outright, calling the Christian doctrine of salvation "the belief of knaves, and the curse of an honest man!"[194] He continues his attack by arguing that he cannot believe that someone as fine and noble as his good friend Chingachgook would be condemned on Judgment Day because he failed to go to church. David is aghast, demanding the chapter and verse that could defend such a position. Hawkeye's response is that the only book that matters

[193]James Fenimore Cooper, *The Pathfinder.* (New York: Penguin Books, 1989), 433-434.
[194] James Fenimore Cooper, *The Last of the Mohicans*, in *The Leatherstocking Tales Volume I.* (New York: The Library of America, 1985), 603.

is that of the natural world around them. "I have heard it said, that there are men who read in books, to convince themselves there is a God! I know not but man may so deform his works in the settlements, as to leave that which is so clear in the wilderness, a matter of doubt among traders and priests. If any such there be, and he will follow me from sun to sun, through the windings of the forest, he shall see enough to teach him that he is a fool, and the greatest of his folly lies in striving to rise to the level of one he can never equal, be it in goodness or in power."[195] David, unable to respond, retreats to his song book and begins singing.

During the massacre after the surrender of Fort William Henry, David turns to his songs again hoping to protect Cora and Alice through his melodious appeals to heaven. The first consequence of his singing is that he actually draws the murderous Magua to them, but David assumes that his songs are protecting the girls so he continues to sing as they are captured and led away. In a way, he is correct that his actions are protecting him, but not in the way he believes. Belting out his "holy charm," David "now appeared to the astonished natives gifted with the protecting spirit of madness."[196] Had he posed a serious threat, the Hurons would have killed him, as they had the retreating British soldiers. But they interpret his faith as a type of madness, and so categorize him as simple and harmless. Cotton Mather may have seen the Christian faith as great weapon in the wilderness, but Cooper portrays it as incompetence and weakness.

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[195] Cooper, *The Last of the Mohicans*, 604-605.
[196] Cooper, *The Last of the Mohicans*, 675.

Throughout the series and especially in *The Last of the Mohicans* and *The Pathfinder*, Cooper draws heavily on the imagery and forms of the captivity narrative tradition in American literature.[197] The central shift in Cooper's approach however is that salvation rests not in the hands of an all-powerful God, but rather in the wilderness skills of Natty Bumppo. The details of the massacre at Fort William Henry replicate those from King Phillip's War and the Deerfield Massacre, including one Huron grabbing an infant and dashing its head upon a rock in front of the child's emotionally destrought mother.[198] He weaves in the language of the Puritan writers, calling the Hurons "imps" and "demons", but he directs his condemnation along tribal, not necessarily generalized racial lines. The Mohican and the Delaware do not deserve the Satanic association that Cooper reserved for Magua and his tribe. In each of *The Leatherstocking Tales*, civilized men and women from the settlements fall into danger and captivity in the hands of certain tribes, but whether they pray or not, their salvation is due to Natty Bumppo's ability to track, paddle, hunt, persuade, and fight. It is a salvation based on skills developed in the wilderness, not faith tested by wilderness like that of Mary Rowlandson.

In *The Prairie*, Bumppo enters into an argument with Dr. Battius, a character who Cooper often refers to as "The Naturalist." Although Bumppo rejects the doctor's faith in written texts, he does agree that the Bible is the only book worth reading. His critique of Christianity is not with its fundamental text, but rather in the way that civilization corrupts the essential messages of the text, separating man from God as expressed most

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[197] Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860*. (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1973).
[198] Cooper, *The Last of the Mohicans*, 672.

purely in the natural world. As Bumppo argues, "It is not needful to live in towns to hear all the devilish devices that the conceit of man can invent to upset his own happiness. What does it prove, except, indeed that it may be said to prove that the garden He made was not after the miserable fashions of our times, thereby directly giving the lie to what the world calls its civilizing. No, no, the Garden of the Lord, was the forest then and is the forest now, where the fruits do grow and the birds do sing according to his own wise ordering."[199] The middle and cultivated landscape obscured the divine message because of the supposed improvements of humanity.[200] Original sin did not obscure humanity from interpreting the natural world, their own improvements did.

Because of his long association with virtuous Native Americans such as Chingachgook, Natty Bumppo receives an education through experience in the wilderness and is able to overcome the intellectual and spiritual limitations imposed by civilization. Although scholars like Richard Slotkin see the lessons of *The Leatherstocking Tales* as ones of violence and oppression, Cooper's argument through Bumppo's words suggest something else.[201] Cooper's lessons of the wilderness are of humility and strength of character. They are not a type of masculine domination, but rather a faith based in humility before the beauty of nature; a faith developed through reflection and time spent outdoors. Bumppo regularly rescues the stereotypical damsel in distress, but he also rescues soldiers, sailors, and other men. It is not his masculinity that

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[199] James Fenimore Cooper, *The Prairie*, in *The Leatherstocking Tales Volume I.* (New York: The Library of America, 1985), 1102.
[200] Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).
[201] Slotkin, *Regeneration through Violence*.

sets him apart, but rather his practical spirituality and closeness to the natural world. Throughout both *The Pioneers* and *The Prairie*, he laments and retreats from the exploitation of the natural world that comes from the type of environmental destruction that is associated with masculine domination. Bumppo takes the moral and ethical high ground, illustrating a more humble and reflective masculinity than simply saving the damsel in distress.

Central to this character education through wilderness is the spirituality of the wilderness and authentic experience within it. In *The Pathfinder*, Bumppo finds common ground with the old seaman, Charles Cap, who believes that civilization is inferior because of its terrestrial nature. For Cap, going to sea reveals and strengthens character, not life and religion in town. Cap opines"Walking about streets, going to church on Sundays, and hearing rumours never yet made a man of a human being. Send the boy out upon the broad ocean, if you wish to open his eyes, and let him look upon foreign nations, or, what I call the face of natur', if you wish him to understand his own character"[202] Bumppo agrees, noting "that towns and settlements lead to sin, I will allow, but our lakes are bordered by the forests, and one is every day called upon to worship God in such a temple."[203] He continues later in the scene, imposing racial lines on faith, but ones that are less evangelical and more tolerant than the Puritans held. "Them that live in the settlements and the towns get to have confined and unjust opinions consarning the might of His hand, but we who pass our time, in his very presence, as it might be, see

[202] Cooper, *The Pathfinder*, 23-24.
[203] Cooper, *The Pathfinder*, 24.

things differently – I mean such of us as have a white natur's. A red Skin has his notions, and it is right that it should be so, and if they are not exactly the same as a Christian white man's, there is no harm in it."[204] Nature provides the vehicle to better understand God and to develop character, but it does not have to be an exclusively Christian God.

Cooper's Romanticism upturned the earlier American perspectives on wilderness regarding religion and moral development. He rejected the idea that the wilderness was dark and evil, but rather embraced the divine experience in nature. Bumppo articulates this in a tender moment with his only love interest in the series, Mabel, in *The Pathfinder*.

> "From the specimens I have seen," observed Mabel, "I should say that they who live much in the forest, forget to learn many of the deceits and vices of the towns."
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> "It is not easy, Mabel, to dwell always in the presence of God, and not feel the power of his goodness. I have attended church-sarvice in the garrisons, and tried hard, as becomes a true soldier, to join in the prayers; for though no enlisted sarvant of the King, I fight his battles and sarve his cause, and so I have endivoured to worship garrison-fashion, but never could raise within me, the solemn feelings and true affection, that I feel when alone with God in the forest. There I seem to stand face to face, with my master; all around me is fresh and beautiful, as it came from his hand, and there is no nicety, or doctrine, to chill the feelin's. No-no-the woods are the true temple a'ter all, for there the thoughts are free to mount higher even than the clouds."[205]

The wilderness experience was a divine one and spiritual transformation resulted from experience in the forest. The question for educators reading *The Leatherstocking Tales* was how exactly could they create conditions where transformational moral development could occur within their students.

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[204] Cooper, *The Pathfinder*, 25.
[205] Cooper, *The Pathfinder*, 92.

Although Cooper provided little in the way of lesson planning to outline a proper mode of education, his novels regularly attacked the text-based model that resulted in the questionable intellectual and moral value of his school bred characters. In his assault, Cooper was not anti-intellectual, but partial to building an argument for a different source of knowledge and approach to learning. Cooper valued a nature-based intelligence more than a text-based intelligence.[206] He respected wisdom and reflection, but the source of knowledge was of great interest to Cooper. Knowledge rested on a weak foundation if it only stood on the contents of a book. The written word was valuable, but not the sole arbiter of knowledge. Although Bumppo lashes out against books, Cooper was obviously not completely opposed to reading, or he would not have pursued a career as an author.

The central conflict in *The Pioneers* is between those who first came into the wilderness and struggled to build their lives through the physical activity of hunting and fishing, i.e. Natty and Chingachgook, versus those who came later on and took control through politics and the manipulation of the legal system. This conflict leads to the prosecution of Bumppo after he kills a deer and defends his cabin with force. Because the judge claims legal ownership over the land and the deer, the conflict moved into the courts pitting the book learning of the legal scholar against the experience and personal relationships of the wilderness hunter. Throughout the court proceedings, the reader is drawn to feel empathy for Hawkeye, rather than the judge, reinforcing the idea that the experiential relationship with the wilderness is what creates strength of character and is in

[206] The twentieth century Theory of Multiple Intelligences as proposed by Howard Gardner would likely resonate with Cooper's perspective, noting that what has traditionally been considered "intelligence" in the academic setting is really only one type of knowing.

opposition to the urban and more law-abiding, ergo weaker, perspective. The text also explores the conflict from a generational perspective. Hawkeye is an old man, being driven back along with the wild animals and Native Americans, by the advancing economic and political forces of civilization. In this, Natty Bumppo is as much a part of the vanishing Indian myth as Chingachgook. As Natty stands trial, Cooper illustrates that the wilderness way of life is what is really being prosecuted.

> "Hear me, Marmaduke Temple," interrupted the old man, with melancholy earnestness, "and hear reason. I've travelled these mountains when you was no judge, but an infant in your mother's arms; and I feel as if I had a right and a privilege to travel them ag'in afore I die. Have you forgot the time that you come on to the lake-shore, when there wasn't even a gaol to lodge in; and didn't I give you my own bear-skin to sleep on, and the fat of a noble buck to satisfy the cravings of your hunger? Yes, yes – you thought it no sin then to kill a deer! And this I did, though I had no reason to love you, for you had never done any thing but harm to them that loved and sheltered me. And now will you shut me up in your dungeons to pay me for my kindness?"[207]

From Bumppo's perspective, the injustice rests on a violation of his experience and relationship with the land. The legal code does not deliver justice in this view, but is in itself a violation of it.[208]

Cooper frequently links physical strength, moral character, and the means of education throughout the series, but especially in depicting the residents of Templeton in *The Pioneers*. For those who were not healthy enough to do real work, more academic

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[207] James Fenimore Cooper, *The Pioneers*, in *The Leatherstocking Tales Volume I.* (New York: The Library of America, 1985), 377.

[208] Alan Taylor's *William Cooper's Town: Power and Persuasion on the Frontier of the Early American Republic* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995) argues that James Fenimore Cooper based *The Pioneers* on his own home town of Cooperstown, New York with his father as the inspiration for Judge Marmaduke Temple. Taylor's work blends biography, social history, and literary analysis and describes how this transformation of American society in the decades after the Revolution impacted the small town in western New York.

pursuits were an option, such as Elnathan, the doctor, who Cooper describes as a "sickly boy, and one that was not equal to work, but who might earn a living comfortably enough by taking to pleading law, or turning minister, or doctoring, or some such like easy calling."[209] Cooper's hero describes himself and his personal strength as a result of learning from experience, not academic training. "I am a plain, unlarned man, that has sarved both the king and his country, in his day, ag'in the French and the savages, but never so much as looked into a book, or larnt a letter of scholarship, in my born days. I've never seen the use of sich in-door work, though I've lived to be partly bald, and in time, have killed two hundred beaver in a season, and that without counting the other game."[210] His animosity for book learning is most intense when those with less personal experience question his judgment, such as when he is discussing his favorite place in the mountains with Edwards who declares

> "I have never heard of this spot before; it is not mentioned in the books."
>
> "I never read a book in my life," said Leather-stocking; "and how should a man who has lived in towns and schools know any thing about the wonders of the woods! No, no, lad; there has that little stream of water been playing among them hills, since He made the world, and not a dozen white men have ever laid eyes upon it."[211]

Not only is the education of towns and schools inferior and incorrect, it is also less connected to the divine source of knowledge in Bumppo's eyes.

In *The Last of the Mohicans*, Hawkeye's strategic skills of warfare in the wilderness are contrasted with the military training of Heyward, regularly showing that

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[209] Cooper, *The Pioneers*, 69.
[210] Cooper, *The Pioneers,* 135.
[211] Cooper, *The Pioneers,* 137.

the British Officer is not up to the task. Although not an evil character, and not considered as incompetent as the Songmaster, Heyward's education is too formal and academic to be of any use in the wilderness world around Lake George. But it is for *The Prairie* that Cooper reserves his most intense and aggressive assaults on education without experience.

In *The Prairie,* the character of Dr. Battius, regularly referred to as the Naturalist, serves as the academic foil to Natty Bumppo. The Naturalist has a scientific knowledge of the natural world that has been developed within the academy, as opposed to Hawkeye's experiential knowledge of nature. Battius is quick to make reference to academic journals and use scientific names in an attempt to impress the settlers, but in doing so, he shows a lack of understanding about the animals he claims to know and the people he is trying to impress. In one interaction, the Naturalist corrects Hawkeye for calling a bison by the improper name of a buffalo. Bumppo quickly fires back "would the tail of a beaver make a worse dinner, for calling it a mink? Or could you eat the wolf, with relish, because some bookish man had given it the name of venison?"[212] Cooper contrasts the two men "whom one was so purely practical and the other so much given to theory."[213] Bumppo brings up the exchange later while on a buffalo hunt by saying, "Now, I conclude that a hunter is a better judge of a beast and of its name. . . than any

[212] Cooper, *The Prairie*, 964.
[213] Cooper, *The Prairie,* 964.

man who has turn'd over the leaves of a book, instead of travelling over the face of the 'arth, in order to find out the natur's of its inhabitants."[214]

For Cooper, beyond being less effective, the great sin of academic schooling was that it trended toward arrogance and fostered a separation from the natural world. Cooper thus attacks the ivory tower. In a conversation with the Teton chief, Cooper's hero explains the weaknesses of white civilization. "I have heard that there are men among my people who study their great medicines until they believe themselves to be Gods, and who laugh at all faith except their own vanities. It may be true. It *is* true; for I have seen them. When man is shut up in towns and schools with his own follies, it may be easy to believe himself greater than the Master of Life; but a warrior who lives in a house with the clouds for his roof, where he can at any moment look both at the heavens and the earth, and who daily sees the power of the Great Spirit, should be more humble."[215]

In challenging the religious significance of wilderness and critiquing the academic approach to learning, James Fenimore Cooper opened the door for a new approach to education, a Romantic pedagogy rooted in connecting children to the natural world in order to develop their physical and moral strength. But more than that, he created an archetype of what the wilderness classroom should include. Throughout the series, the physical experiences in the wilderness are described in great detail, including travel by foot and by canoe, camping by the fire, and learning to track animals and people. As demonstrated by Natty Bumppo, these are lessons that are only learned from experience

[214] Cooper, *The Prairie*, 1102.
[215] Cooper, *The Prairie*, 1118.

and intuition, not from the external source of books. The popularity of *The Leatherstocking Tales* was wide-spread on both sides of the Atlantic. By the 1890s, British units in Africa had adopted the name "Scouts" in order to pay homage to the Pathfinder and the imagery of the books had a significant influence on Ernest Thompson Seton and Robert Baden-Powell.[216] The specific skills and educative purpose that Cooper articulated would become central to the outdoor education movement, as later chapters will articulate.

In *The Prairie*, Cooper offered an example of how one particular skill, wilderness cooking, offers a link between backcountry living and moral development. As Bumppo explains, "Do you know the difference between the cookery of the wilderness and that which is found in the settlements? No: I see plainly that you don't, by your appetite; then I will tell you. The one follows man, the other natur'. One thinks he can add to the gifts of the Creator, while the other is humble enough to enjoy them; therein lies the secret."[217]Every activity in the wilderness provided the opportunity to learn humility and deepen your connection to God.

Although Cooper laid out a framework that would be utilized by the outdoor education movement, his central hero was much more the archetypical student, then a role model for the outdoor educator. He was constantly facilitating the safe transport of city folk through the wilderness, but rarely do they actually become savvy in the wilderness as a result of his teachings. They survive, but only through dependence on

[216] Robert H. MacDonald. *Sons of Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement, 1890-1918.* (Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 75.
[217] Cooper, *The Prairie, 987.*

him. The virtues that Cooper placed on the shoulders of his hero include "simplicity, integrity, and sincerity, blended in an air of self-reliance which usually gave great confidence to those who found themselves under his care."[218] His ideal was a virtuous character with a self-reliance balanced by service to others and community. Hawkeye may be the product of the wilderness education, and he may point to its potential for future generations of Americans, but his success as a teacher could only exist if he jumped from the page and into the physical experiences of American youth.

For the city dweller on the east coast of the United States, the battle with the wilderness was nearly won by the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the first one hundred-fifty years of settlement, New Englanders had suffered through a long series of wars against the French, various Native American tribes, and more often, both. King Philip's War (1675-1678), King William's War (1688-1697), Queen Anne's War (1702-1714), Father Rasle's War (1723-1726, also known as Grey Lock's War), King George's War (1744-1748), and the French and Indian War (1754-1763) all posed the same threat, death and destruction coming by surprise from the forest to destroy the town.[219] Through the pen of Cotton Mather and others, the wilderness served as an essential tool in representing the Devil's work in the world, and the physical, existential threat of wilderness reinforced those lessons. By the conclusion of the American Revolution, many New Englanders lived their lives without experiencing wilderness at all, interacting

[218] Cooper, *The Pathfinder*, 48-49.
[219] Demos, 134-137, 170.

primarily with a settled and cultivated landscape free from the demonic imagery of earlier generations. Sparked by the Enlightenment, a shift in perspective looked to the natural world as a source of revelation searching for clues to understand God's creation, placing wilderness, the extreme of nature, as a pure expression of God's will, not the realm of Satan. Freed from being the source of evil, wilderness became attractive to the rising movement of Romantics who saw in wilderness the sublime, mysterious power of the Divine at work. As *The Leatherstocking Tales* of James Fenimore Cooper grew in popularity, Americans began to rethink the appropriate link between wilderness and moral development, leaving them to wonder how their children could learn the lessons of Natty Bumppo. As early as the 1830's, authors started recommending that parents send their children into the White Mountains of New Hampshire as an essential part of their education. The tender sensibilities needed to appreciate the wilderness came only with time spent in it. This radically different opinion of wilderness, as something that should be cherished and explored for the sake of youth development, was a distinctly urban east coast phenomenon. Beyond the comfortable middle class worlds of Boston and New York, those who lived close to wilderness still held to more traditional views.[220]

Although these theological obstructions to wilderness education had been removed, there were still great barriers that separated those in the cities from the classrooms of the mountains. By the early 19th century, railroads were beginning to open up the Catskills, the White Mountains, and the Berkshires to those who wished to explore the sublime realm of nature. But people would first need to be prepared to learn its

[220]Nash, 57-65.

lessons. Richard Slotkin's assessment of the literature during this period points to the lessons of regeneration through violence, but an alternative curriculum was also emerging. For those Americans, like James Fenimore Cooper and his readers, the wilderness represented a potential for greater harmony and a more natural and peaceful social dynamic than the violence present in American cities. But if the citizens of this young republic were to construct valuable knowledge from the American landscape, they would first need to determine what to focus on and how to interpret that landscape. They would need to develop an understanding of the aesthetic and moral value of the wilderness. They would need facilitators for their backcountry experience who could, in John Dewey's words, "recognize in the concrete what surroundings are conducive to having experiences that lead to growth."[221] They would need Thomas Cole and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

[221] John Dewey, *Experience and Education* (New York: Touchstone Books, 1997. Originally published in 1938), 40.

Chapter 3: From Canvas to Campfire

For Americans to build their character through interactions with the natural world, they needed to first develop a lens to frame their wilderness experience. As authors and artists defined that frame, the mountain tourism industry evolved providing adults with the opportunity to put themselves into the picture. The expansion of mountain tourism in New England was reinforced by the popularity of landscape images that defined how Americans should experience their own unique wilderness. Trends in nineteenth-century American visual culture heavily influenced the outdoor education movement in three ways. First, the imagery advanced a philosophical approach connecting moral development to a reflective study of the natural world. Second, the representation of people actively engaged in the landscape modeled the appropriate outdoor activities assumed to teach the desired lessons and develop ideal character traits. And finally, the paintings, woodcuts, and lithographs of the nineteenth century created and defined the specific motifs that would serve as the protean imagery for the movement. This close association of landscape paintings and mountain tourism normalized concepts of the wilderness experience serving as the basis for the curriculum of outdoor education as well as the marketing imagery used to promote the movement to parents and children. The uniforms, canoes, cabins, and the very experience of camp itself were familiar and nostalgic to that first generation of summer campers, even though these programs were new and innovative, because those images had emerged and were widely accepted in American popular culture over the course of the previous century. Even more directly, the requirements outlined for badges and ranks in outdoor education programs articulated

the skills needed and lessons learned from engaging the landscape. By outlining the exact qualifications for proficiency, these organizations were able to connect the visual and literary experience with a student's lived experience.

For the city dweller on the east coast of the United States, the battle with the wilderness was nearly won by the beginning of the nineteenth century. At this point, the urban middle class were growing in influence and an increasing number of Americans lived their lives in urban environments without experiencing wilderness at all. With the forests cleared, the soil plowed, and the threat of Indian attacks driven west, New Englanders had little to fear from wilderness. These developments paralleled the objectification of the landscape, a separation of man from nature, that resulted from a more scientific and market driven perspective of the world.[222] No longer considered a source of evil, the wilderness transformed for the artists and writers of the Romantic Movement who saw in wildness the sublime, mysterious power of the Divine at work. For those with an affinity for this sentiment, developing an appreciation of the natural world became a sign of gentility, of refined character, and of good breeding. The mid-nineteenth century was also marked by dramatic social and economic changes that left many people feeling as if they had no control. By retreating to and recreating in the wilderness, men and women had the opportunity to engage in an experiential mythmaking process where they could redefine themselves in a fantasy world of

[222] Kenneth John Myers, "On the Cultural Construction of Landscape Experience: Contact to 1830," in *American Iconology: New Approaches to Nineteenth-Century Art and Literature*. Edited by David C. Miller. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993).

adventure and exploration.[223] As early as the 1830's, authors advised parents to send their children into the White Mountains of New Hampshire as an essential part of their education. The tender sensibilities needed to appreciate the wilderness came only with time spent in it. But this revolutionary opinion of wilderness, as something that should be cherished and explored for the sake of youth development, emerged as a uniquely urban east coast phenomenon; beyond the comfortable middle class worlds of Boston and New York, those who lived close to wilderness held a less Romantic perspective.[224]

The Bostonian essayist Ralph Waldo Emerson had a tremendous impact on this shift. This father of Transcendentalism broke from his Calvinist forebears by finding God in the New England wilderness, rather than Cotton Mather vision of Satan. The emergence of Emerson's brand of faith challenged many of the dogmatic structures of Puritanism. To earlier New Englanders, Original Sin obscured man's ability to interpret the Divine in the natural world, but when Emerson and his fellow Transcendentalists cast aside this belief, they opened a window through which man could learn about God through the direct observation of Creation.[225] In the sense that Emerson believed that the natural world presented lessons that were directly applicable to the moral life of the observer, he was the first outdoor educator in America.[226]

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[223] Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Davey Crockett as Trickster: Pornography, Liminality and Symbolic Inversion in Victorian America," *Journal of Contemporary History* 17 (April, 1982): pp 325-350.
[224] Nash, 57-65.
[225] Miller, 203.
[226] It is important to note here the observations of Kenneth Myers on the objectification of the landscape. Myers argues that for the landscape to be considered a true revelation of divine intention, Americans needed to transcend the self and forget the labor needed to appreciate the environment. Reading the landscape had to be an innate skill in order for its lessons to be universal and disinterested from cultural influence. He sees James Fennimore Cooper and Thomas Cole as instrumental in this process by not only

Although Emerson was not the only Transcendentalist to see the Divine in nature, the visual and artistic engagement that transformed the wilderness from a source of evil to a source of knowledge owes a great debt to the Sage of Concord. Henry James' description of the Emersonian internal and reflective quest for transcendence as an exploration of a "landscape of the soul" is appropriate. Emerson saw universal truths in the external world that corresponded to truths written in the human heart. From this point of view, landscapes existed in the soul as surely as they did on the horizon.[227] It was on that landscape that the Transcendentalists would chart a new model of education in America. In his 1836 text *Nature*, Emerson anchored the transcendental experience in the forest, writing:

> In the woods, we return to reason and faith. There I feel that nothing can befall me in life—no disgrace, no calamity (leaving me my eyes), which nature cannot repair. Standing on the bare ground—my head bathed by the blithe air and uplifted into infinite space—all mean egotism vanishes. I become the transparent eyeball; I am nothing; I see all; the currents of the Universal Being circulate through me; I am part or parcel of God.[228]

For Emerson, this Divine experience transcends the physical world through a visual channel, forming in the mind as an artistic impression. He continues,

> A work of art is an abstract or epitome of the world. It is the result or expression of nature, in miniature. For although the works of nature are innumerable and all different, the result or the expression of them all is

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separating the viewer from the object but also by creating the language needed to describe an objectified natural world. I believe Emerson also exemplifies Myers' point. My concern in this paper however is not the validity or construction of those assumptions, but rather how they were transformed pedagogically for later generations of students. Through playful recreation in the outdoors, early twentieth-century summer campers and educators forgot the labor of interpreting the landscape, thereby allowing them to see the wilderness lessons as innate.

[227] Henry James. *Hawthorne*. (Ithaca, New York: Great Seal Books, 1963), 68.

[228] Ralph Waldo Emerosn, *Nature* in *The Essential Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Brooks Atkinson. (New York: The Modern Library, 2000), 6.

> similar and single. . . . The poet, the painter, the sculptor, the musician, the architect, seek each to concentrate this radiance of the world on one point, and each in his several work to satisfy the love of beauty which stimulates him to produce. Thus is Art a nature passed through the alembic of man. Thus in Art does Nature work through the will of a man filled with the beauty of her first works.[229]

Knowledge exists in the natural world and wilderness in particular, but only through artistic expression can its lessons be focused and revealed. In *Nature*, Emerson redefined the role of the wilderness for his generation. No longer as battleground for the forces of evil, the wilderness revealed itself as the source of Divine knowledge. Emerson classified nature itself as an academic discipline, and its study necessary for the development of Understanding and Reason.[230] In linking the transcendental experience with nature to spiritual growth, Emerson began the association of education and wilderness that would form the basis of outdoor education. This shift in the intellectual and educational culture of new England was also facilitated by the professional artists of the period.

In his 1841 essay *Art*, Ralph Waldo Emerson refined a call to the artist as a wilderness facilitator. By processing the lived experience and focusing it on the canvas, the artist trained the observer to recognize specific important details. "The virtue of art lies in detachment, in sequestering one object from the embarrassing variety. Until one thing comes out from the connection of things, there can be enjoyment, contemplation, but no thought."[231] As a translator and facilitator, the landscape painter visually

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[229] Ibid., 12-13.
[230] Ibid., 19.
[231] Ralph Waldo Emersion, *Art* in *The Essential Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Brooks Atkinson. (New York: The Modern Library, 2000), 276.

transformed the wilderness into an educational experience for the student. By selecting the "one object" to focus the viewer's attention, the artist aided the viewer in discovering the lesson amidst the intense variety of wilderness experiences, building a skill base until the students was able to read the subtleties of the land and find the meaning for themselves. This identification of the valuable sources of experience was part of a larger process Emerson referred to as the Act of Experiencing.[232] Other scholars have also noted that action was essential to Emersonian concepts of Self-Culture, the process by which the inner self was brought to a greater level of perfection. Through reflective action and personal experience, individuals cultivated a stronger character.[233] With the aim of character development, both Emerson's nineteenth-century artist and the twentieth-century scout leader moved the student along what John Dewey would later call an *experiential continuum*.[234] The American artist who would really begin to make this vision a reality, was an English born painter named Thomas Cole.

Thomas Cole: The Facilitator of the Sublime

Heavily influenced by the Romantic Movement, Thomas Cole found in the close study of nature an antidote for the anxiety brought on by the changing economic and social forces in America.[235] Cole's representation of the American wilderness involved the concept of the sublime, a terrible force of nature that at times coincided with the older

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[232] Jonathan Bishop, *Emerson on the Soul*. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1964).
[233] David Robinson, *Apostle of Culture: Emerson as Preacher and Lecturer*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1982).
[234] See John Dewey, *Experience & Education*. (New York: Touchstone Books, 1997. Originally published in 1938).
[235] William H. Truettner and Alan Wallach, eds., *Thomas Cole: Landscape into History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 82. Also, Kenneth Myers saw in Cole's work a shift to greater moralizing in landscape painting, a concept that he referred to as the "didactic picturesque." (Myers, 74.)

Puritan views on wilderness. Enlightenment thought had focused on the importance of man and reason, but the sublime was beyond human control and unreasonable at any level. It was the shear divine will of God as expressed through the power of nature. By removing or minimizing the role of man, Cole highlighted the power of the natural world, a power that impacted, shaped, and defined the men and women who did exist on his canvases. The elemental forces of the landscape shaped those characters, and in turn worked to shape those who studied and consumed those paintings.[236] In his 1835 work *Tornado* (Figure 3.1) the dominant and sublimely powerful forces of nature are expressed by dark clouds, branches buckling under strong winds, and shattered tree trunks in the center-left of the image. Between the two trees, a solitary man leans into the wind, his scarf and frock coat swept horizontally. Although the storm twists the world into chaos, this small man stands firm. This strength of character in the face of the forces of nature also emerges in Cole's earlier work *Daniel Boone Sitting at the Door of his Cabin on the Great Osage Lake, Kentucky* (Figure 3.2) from 1826. Here, the iconic pioneer, seated on a rock overlooking a lake, reflects on an impending storm and the powerful force of nature. Like Boone himself, the trees are snarled and weathered from exposure to the harsh environment. Boone's physical home, a log cabin on the left of the painting, blends into the forest, showing that a man seasoned and tested by nature has his most suitable home in this natural world. The similarity of Cole's Boone to Cooper's Natty Bumppo indicates that they were both utilizing the same visual cues of attire, accoutrements, and canine companionship. The lasting impact of these wilderness archetypes are evidenced

[236] Nash, 79.

by the work of Norman Rockwell and others who promoted the outdoor education movement one hundred years later.

Cole, like Emerson, believed in the role of the artist as translator of the vast details of the natural world into a means through which others could study their central truths. He would personally experience the natural world by taking long hikes, often accompanied by friends, digesting and processing his experience before picking up his brush.[237] Cole saw in the American wilderness the fresh expression of God's creation which, for those trained to recognize and interpret that creation, could be the source for an American culture rich in moral and spiritual possibilities.[238] He captured this belief that Americans needed to study their landscape to develop virtue in his 1836 *Essay on American Scenery*. In it, Cole not only constructed a strong argument for art appreciation, but laid a foundation for character development through the natural world, literally defining the purposes of an education in the outdoors.[239]

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[237] Ella M. Foshay and Barbara Novak, *Intimate Friends: Thomas Cole, Asher B. Durand, William Cullen Bryant* (New York: New York Historical Society, 2000), 24.
[238]Foshay and Novak, 15.
[239] As noted earlier in reference to Kenneth Myers, there are serious problems with the assumption that the landscape speaks for an objective or divine truth. Rachel Ziady DeLue identifies what may be the most central issues in her introduction to *Landscape Theory*. For DeLue, the challenge of Landscape Theory is that it is difficult to find anything that is not landscape, and therefore this runs the risk of becoming a theory of everything. If it is then a theory of everything, it is impossible to remove oneself enough to gain the necessary perspective to understand it. Recent scholarship continues to complicate the objective value of the landscape by filtering it through the lenses of psychoanalysis, feminism, semiotics, visual theory, etc., but what is pertinent to this argument is that for early twentieth-century educators, the landscape was innately valuable as a basis of an outdoor curriculum and this was because of the work of Cole, Emerson, and others. This pedagogic value landscape is noted by Anne Whiston Spirn in her essay "One With Nature: Landscape, Language, Empathy, and Imagination" in the aforementioned *Landscape Theory*, wherein she argues that the language of landscape is a means by which we communicate our relationship with the land to later generations.

Cole proposed that Americans needed to learn to appreciate the American landscape as their birthright. His *Essay* viewed the landscape as an "exhaustless mine" from which the American people would foster the traits that led to genius and a keen perception of beauty. Those who failed to develop an appreciation of nature were condemned to be "short lived, short sighted." In learning from the study of the wilderness, Americans would follow in the footsteps of Biblical prophets who journeyed into the wild to commune with God. Those experiences with nature would elicit religious feelings which would not only connect them more closely with God, but also to humanity. To Cole, the study of the natural world led to a greater happiness and to a stronger character, therefore it must be a primary focus of American cultural education. The urgency of this cultivation was underscored by the rapid rate at which industrial capitalism was undermining civilized culture, replacing taste with fashion and trampling people's better natures. A strong appreciation of the natural world would serve as a buffer to those social forces.[240] That appreciation would counter those forces because it would be demonstrated in the hearts and minds of the citizenry. The study of nature was the study of virtue, and if the observant eye was cultivated, so too would be character.

In *Essay on American Scenery,* Cole defined the specific elements of American scenery that should be represented in landscape paintings, identifying also the associated virtues that could be learned from a close observation of the land. Wildness was the most essential element, "undefiled" by man, close to the original forms of God's creation, and

[240] Thomas Cole, "Essay on American Scenery," *American Monthly Magazine,* January 1836, from http://us.geocities.com/steletti/pages/scenery.html accessed on 10/24/2009, 1-3. See also Allan Wallach, "Thomas Cole's 'River on the Catskills' as Antipatoral," *The Art Bulletin* 84 (Jun., 2002): pp. 334-350.

therefore superior to the cultivated and developed landscapes of the Old World. Because Americans had such vast tracts of wild land so close to their homes, they had ready access to the morality expressed by Creation. While he claims that critics may see the absence of antiquity as a weakness in American scenery, Cole saw that very absence as the nation's great strength. "I would have it remembered that nature has shed over this land beauty and magnificence, and although the character of its scenery may differ from the old world's, yet inferiority must not therefore be inferred; for though American scenery is destitute of many of those circumstances that give value to the European, still it has features, and glorious ones, unknown to Europe."[241] Americans were not inferior because they lacked history; they were superior because of their wildness.

Cole deconstructed each element of landscape painting, exploring its virtues and importance to the development of American character. The mountains, sublime and beautiful, wild and primeval, savage and magnificent, wore a thicker coat of dense forest than their European counterparts. Pure and transparent, water hid nothing, its honesty expressing a variety of forms. Lakes demonstrated tranquility and a reflective nature, the swift stream showed water's turbulent and impetuous side, while the waterfall illustrated a powerful balance of forces, fixed yet in constant motion. The American climate, as reflected in the sky, revealed the diversity of nature, changing with the seasons and from day to day, producing brilliant sunsets as well as sharply clear starry nights. But Cole saved his most direct personification of nature for his description of trees, which served a

[241] Cole, 4.

metaphoric and didactic purpose by illustrating the positive effects of spending time in the wilderness.

> Trees are like men, differing widely in character; in sheltered spots, or under the influence of culture, they show few contrasting points; peculiarities are pruned and trained away, until there is a general resemblance. But in exposed situations, wild and uncultivated, battling with the elements and with one another for possession of a morsel of soil, or a favoring rock to which they may cling - - they exhibit striking peculiarities, and sometimes grand originality.[242]

The idealized scenes represented in *The Hunter's Return* (Figure 3.3) of 1845 and *Home in the Woods* (Figure 3.4) of 1847, illustrate the blending of the elements identified in his *Essay*. The distant sublimely powerful bald mountains impose themselves over the tranquil lakes reflecting their strength. Diverse species of trees make up the forest in both the foreground and the background. Clear skies spread over the land, promising fair weather in the future. For the people who inhabit both paintings, a life physically and spiritually close to the land leads to prosperity. The forests and lakes provide sustenance as well as the raw materials for shelter and fuel. With such idealized scenes constructed from his imagination, Cole's intent was not to capture a physical reality, but rather to impart lessons of character to his viewers. As contrived as some of these images were, the American wilderness impressed Cole because he felt it *actually* contained physical places that did unify these elements of wild virtue as if painted by a divine artist. In anchoring these elements to physical tangible places, he linked the ideal to a lived experience, laying a foundation for both nineteenth-century mountain tourism and

[242] Cole, 8.

twentieth-century outdoor education. One place in particular stood out in his mind as the most ideal physical landscape, whose granite peaks and forested valleys "so completely married together the grandeur and loveliness - - there he sees the sublime melting into the beautiful, the savage tempered by the magnificent." It was the White Mountains of New Hampshire.

Cole's White Mountain paintings show a wilderness where man is passing through rather than settling, presenting a recreational experience where men live in harmony, not an expansionist ideal of conquering the wild. *Mount Chocorua* (Figure 3.5) from 1827 blends forest and granite reflecting the sublime on the still surface of a lake. In a communion of man and nature, a fisherman on shore casts his line while in the same pool a deer pauses to drink. In a *View in the White Mountains (Mount Washington from Bretton Woods)* (Figure 3.6), the illustrious summit of the Presidentials, capped in snow and draped with storm clouds, reminds those in the lush verdant valley below of the sublime power of the mountains. A small solitary hiker walks along the edge of the meadow rather than down the main road, avoiding traffic or, more likely, the effects of New Hampshire's early spring "mud season," revealing Cole's local knowledge and personal experience of the physical personality of the land.

Although Cole was working in the medium of oil painting, his imagery was not exclusive to the connoisseurs of fine art. As was typical of the period, imagery was often converted to woodcuts or lithographs for larger distribution and in some cases these images even made it to the dining room table. While Cole was living in Europe between

1829 and 1832, he was able to get his images reproduced in two of Howard Hinton's volumes of *The History and Topography of the United States*, published in 1830 and 1832. These became very popular and were reissued a number of times in Britain and America throughout the nineteenth century.[243] Many of the extant copies of this text show that the Cole images have been removed, demonstrating their popularity as decorations as well as reading material.[244] The landscape imagery of Cole and his contemporaries were often reproduced in gift books, a genre of publication which combined woodcuts and Romantic poetry which were enormously popular throughout the middle decades of the nineteenth century.[245] Cole's *View Near Conway N. Hampshire US* and *White Mountains, N Hampshire US* made the jump from Hinton's books to America's dining rooms thanks to Staffordshire Pottery. Well-made and affordable, Staffordshire Pottery dominated the dishware market and from 1831 to 1861. The "American Views" series included Cole's *View Near Conway* and *White Mountains.*[246] Although ornamented, these plates were considered every day ware, meaning that although Cole's original paintings were not only available to the broader public, his imagery was right under their noses.

The message that Cole spread through his American landscapes communicated the exciting possibilities of the future, not mystic memories of an ancient time. "American associations are not so much of the past as of the present and the future. . . ."

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[243] Nancy Siegel. *Along the Juniata: Thomas Cole and the Dissemination of American Landscape Images*. (Huntington, Pennsylvania: Juniata College Press in association with University of Washington Press, Seattle, 2003), 45.
[244] Siegel, 51.
[245] Siegel, 63-65.
[246] Siegel, 73-78.

He wrote, "mighty deeds shall be done in the now pathless wilderness; and poets yet unborn shall sanctify the soil."[247] The ability to read and interpret the landscape was important to nineteenth century Americans as a means of national pride.[248] Thanks in no small part to Cole's success, the White Mountains were becoming mythical and central to American identity by the second third of the century. Cole's *A View of the Mountain Pass Called the Notch of the White Mountains (Crawford Notch)* (Figure 3.7) depicted one of these recently mythologized places. Freshly cut stumps and newly constructed buildings show the evidence of civilization coming to the Notch, but the dark storm clouds to the southwest suggest the ominous power of the mountains. The dark events that occurred here made the pass famous and drew thousands of curious tourists to Crawford Notch. One specific tourist, Nathaniel Hawthorne, would "sanctify the soil" and transform it into the literary expression of the lessons of wilderness.

From Savage Wilderness to Tangled Wood: Nathaniel Hawthorne, the Sublime, and Rugged Communalism

On Monday, August 28, 1826, Samuel and Polly Willey huddled with their children Eliza, Jeremiah, Martha, Elbridge, and Sally in their home in Crawford Notch, fearing for their lives as a tremendous thunderstorm rocked the mountains around them. Hearing the side of the mountain give way, the seven members of the Willey household and their two hired laborers, David Allen and David Nickerson, dashed from their home for a protective shelter a few hundred feet away, but the landslide crashed down upon them, sweeping them into oblivion while leaving their home and the shelter untouched.

[247] Cole, 9-10.
[248] Siegel, 62.

The story made national news as the first natural disaster to capture the attention of the entire country.[249] The Willey family had moved to the Notch ten months before, in October 1825 in order to run an inn along the new highway built through the mountain pass.[250] According to historian Eric Purchase, the tragic death of the Willey family sparked a new discussion on the relationship Americans had with their landscape. Purchase asserts, "the Willey disaster prompted nineteenth-century intellectuals to develop stunning new images of Nature while overlooking the correlative question of how Americans use the earth. Or, rather, the economic issue appears in these new images but in suppressed form."[251] This new image of Nature rejected the purely mechanistic approach of the Enlightenment or the utilitarian angle of the rising capitalists. It was an approach that included a darkness akin to what Cotton Mather suggested but without the blessings or retributions of a divine authority. The natural world, according to this concept, operated by its own laws with little concern for humanity; it did not work to punish sin, but rather exercised its power on saint and sinner alike. As the narrative of the Willey disaster emerged from the mountains, it showed Nature could enact punishment upon a family, even one described by their neighbors as positively as "the whole intention of their lives was to live humbly, walk uprightly, deal justly with all, speak ill of none."[252] It was an image that embraced the aesthetic concept of the *sublime*.

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[249] John T. B. Mudge, "Historical Epilogue" to *Tales of the White Mountains*, by Nathaniel Hawthorne (Etna, New Hampshire: The Durand Press, 2001), 80.
[250] Eric Purchase, *Out of Nowhere: Disaster and Tourism in the White Mountains*. (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 8.
[251] Purchase, 14.
[252] Lucy Crawford, *Lucy Crawford's History of the White Mountains*. (Boston: Appalachian Mountain Club, 1987. Originally published in 1846), 92.

By the time that Nathaniel Hawthorne visited the site six years later, the event had gained an iconic status. Hawthorne was quite comfortable with dark moods in his writing and so transforming the legend of the Willeys into a short story was well suited to him. Henry James described Hawthorne as having a gloominess that had much to do with his "old Puritan sense of sin, of penalties to be paid, of the darkness and wickedness of life."[253] On a visit to the White Mountains in September 1832, Hawthorne stayed with Ethan and Lucy Crawford, a few miles from the site of the Willey slide, and learned the story of that tragic August night.[254] His pen immortalized the tale. *The Ambitious Guest,* written in 1835, captured Hawthorne's belief in a fissure between country and city life as well as the sublime power of the wilderness and its potential impact on those who journey into it. The rich description of the sublime in the opening scene reveals the ominous power of the wilderness juxtaposed with a level of human happiness and satisfaction that can be found only in the mountains. The virtues of rural family life, of hospitality, hearth and home naturally take root in these sparse mountain communities. A nameless traveler on his way to the Vermont city of Burlington seeks shelter with a local family in a cabin where he finds "warmth and simplicity of feeling, the pervading intelligence of New England, and a poetry of native growth, which they had gathered when they little thought of it from the mountain peaks and chasms, and at the very threshold of their romantic and dangerous abode."[255] The virtues of humility and hospitality, harvested like blueberries or chestnuts from the New England mountains

[253] James, 80.
[254] Crawford, 97.
[255] Nathaniel Hawthorne, "The Ambitious Guest," in *Tales of the White Mountains* (Etna, New Hampshire: The Durand Press, 2001), 18.

serve as the moral foundation of Hawthorne's tale, but also comprise the elements of *rugged communalism* that will find their expression in his other work and in the early outdoor education movement.

For Hawthorne, the experience of living in the Mountains creates a foundation for the morality and character of the family, and although the unnamed traveler's ambition and pride are not recognized by the mountains, the family's humble virtue is. Refined and educated, the nameless youth followed a solitary path throughout life, vainly hoping to leave a mark that would be recognized for generations. Hawthorne channelled his antimodernist feelings in having the nameless traveler personify the market revolution sweeping the country in the first third of the nineteenth century. Rather than working for the benefit of the community, the ambitious guest sought fame and fortune for himself. In contrast to this young man's goals, the father holds out more humble dreams and focuses his life's work on faithful service to his family and democracy. Although running an inn along a busy thoroughfare, the father does not go out to meet passing travelers because he "was unwilling to show himself too solicitous of gain by inviting people to patronize his house,"[256] hardly the actions of a good market capitalist. One man represents the modern urban life with its commitment to the individual and to material success while the other embodies the traditional rural life with its humble focus on hearth and home, strengthened by a close, near kinship relation to the mountain. In the end the sublime force of the mountain claims the lives of the Guest and the family, but ironic justice grants immortality to the family while completely obliterating the

[256]Hawthorne, 22.

existence of the Ambitious Guest. The young man was but the first of many wilderness travelers whose dark experiences with the sublime would give them "the Willies."[257]

Hawthorne's "The Ambitious Guest" and Cole's *A View of the Mountain Pass Called the Notch of the White Mountains* reinforce the dark sublime side of the wilderness. Reminiscent of the Old Testament visions of Cotton Mather and the Puritans, the mountains held the power to obliterate unprepared souls. For Hawthorne's unnamed traveler or the solitary figure riding a black horse across Cole's painting, the mountains inflict certain doom. But the wilderness also promises strength and character to those who live close and learn the lessons of the forest. The Willey family characterized in "The Ambitious Guest" expresses the grounded, democratic values that American households should aspire to develop.[258] Cole's brush delivers a similar moral contrasting the two story white home standing to the left of the Notch with the small cabin on the right. The cabin stands alone in a clearing fringed with dead standing trees and stumps illustrating man's attempt to wrestle nature. The white home, assumed to be the Willey house, sits near a calm pool of water reflecting on the lessons of the mountain. Stronger and more solidly constructed than the exposed one room shack across the trail, the larger home

[257] The term "The Willies", meaning "a fit of nervous apprehension," is referenced in the Oxford English Dictionary (online) as being American slang first appearing in 1896. The connection between the Willey Disaster and the emergence of the word is possible, especially considering the popularity of the White Mountains as a tourist destination at the end of the 19th century.

[258] Alan Wallach's 2002 essay on Cole's use of the Antipastoral reinforces this interpretation of *A View of the Mountain Pass Called the Notch of the White Mountains (Crawford Notch).* Wallach finds a serious critique of the railroad and technological progress in Cole's 1843 painting *River on the Catskills* as well as in the artist's letters regarding the painting. Similarly, Hawthorne's popular story of the events in Crawford Notch suggests another anti-modern Colean argument. The lone rider races into the Notch and oblivion just as the sins of vanity and self-promotion condemn the Ambitious Guest. A lush forest surrounds the Willey house, but immediately beneath the rider is the stump of a tree, cut down by man's arrogant violence against nature.

blends into the landscape, partially obscured by the surrounding trees while its chimney smoke disappears into the mist and fog in the valley of the Saco. The message expressed by both Cole and Hawthorne is that by riding alone, one meets certain doom, but by living close to nature in a rugged community, wisdom and immortality are the rewards.

Much of Hawthorne's work explored this delicate dance between an idealized nurturing wilderness and the powerfully destructive force of nature. For him, the wilderness was not just a Transcendentally divine expression of Creation, it also contained strong elements of demonic condemnation. Many of Hawthorne's writings serve as an allegorical guide book for young Americans looking to learn the best methods of survival while engaging the American wilderness, an attempt to construct a lesson from the horrific chaos of the sublime. Surviving Hawthorne's wilderness did not require the physical actions of building fires or hunting elk, but rather on the development of community and the commitment to relationships. Hawthorne's approach to learning from wilderness was not about what you do, but the intent behind what you do, the emotional sentiment, the state of mind. Hawthorne did not so much challenge Americans to conquer the wilderness from without, but rather to engage the land in order to conquer a darker wilderness within by strengthening the bonds of human relationship, of rugged communalism.

Hawthorne's writing was rooted in his personal experience. Much of his early life was spent in Raymond, Maine, on the shores of Sebago Lake, in what was then the frontier of New England. Hunting and fishing near his home, the young Nathaniel

personally engaged the wilderness. After his education at Bowdoin College, he began his writing career, drawing heavily from his personal experiences to ground his work on the stories, places, and events of the New England landscape. In doing so, he worked to ascribe a mythology to the young nation that was as rich as any in old Europe. From Indian myths of the White Mountains he crafted "The Great Carbuncle" and from the Old Man of the Mountains in Franconia Notch he spun the story of "The Great Stone Face." "Ethan Brand" met his dark end in the shadow of Mount Greylock, and even the story of Hester Prynne is linked to both the Salem Customs House and a tombstone in Boston's King's Chapel Burying Ground. By crafting his narratives around actual places, Hawthorne anchored his moral lessons to the landscape, inscribing it with meaning and providing the sketches for the education of character through the exploration of New England's geography.

Hawthorne's observations of the conflict between the moral and communal life in the country and individualistic and opportunistic city life are quite evident in many of his early writings, predating "The Ambitious Guest." In "The Gentle Boy" (1831) and "My Kinsman, Major Molineux" (1832), the honest and compassionate values of a rustic life are placed in sharp contrast to the violence and intolerance of the city. Fertile ground in the country is capable of building strong honest people, while the dark barren city is wicked and hypocritical. This ostracism and urban inhumanity surface again in *The Scarlet Letter* and other Hawthorne works, helping to lay an early foundation for the perception of the moral inferiority of urban life.

As these writings inferred, a rustic life close to God's Creation leads to a stronger and deeper moral development. The allegories that Hawthorne's short stories offer point to the actions needed to gain this moral improvement from nature and the methods of sentiment and intent. For the family members in the Notch, their humble nobility came from a reflection on the land around them and a commitment to each other. This importance of commitment surfaces a number of times in other Hawthorne's short stories. In "Roger Malvin's Burial" (1831) the consequences of a failure to fulfill a commitment has tragic consequences. When a character named Reuben fails to fulfill his promise to bury Roger Malvin, the man whose daughter he will soon marry, he finds himself riddled with guilt. The wilderness acts as a catalyst, intensifying the impact of the vices and virtues expressed there. Reuben's character is damaged by his experience in the wilderness because he fails to live up to his promise to Malvin. His son however exhibits the strength of physical and emotional character that comes from living close to nature. The boy's virtues are intensified in the wilderness as he "was peculiarly qualified for, and already began to excel in, the wild accomplishments of frontier life. His foot was fleet, his aim, true, his apprehension quick, his heart glad and high."[259] Unencumbered by the failed commitments of his father, the boy shows the potential that can emerge from growing up in the forest. When told that the family would be moving farther west into the wilderness, "the boy dashed one teardrop from his eye, and thought of the adventurous pleasures of the untrodden forest. O, who, in the enthusiasm of a daydream, has not wished that he were a wanderer in a world of summer wilderness, with one fair

[259] Nathaniel Hawthorne, "Roger Malvin's Burial," in *Nathaniel Hawthorne's Tales* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1987), 26.

and gentle being hanging lightly on his arm?"[260] The romance of the challenge of the wilderness plays out in his mind in visions of excitement and masculinity.

Reuben's wife Dorcas does not expect moving into the wilderness to be a negative experience. However, the sins of the father struck down the entire family. Mistaking him for a deer in the brush, Reuben shoots and kills his son, at the exact location where Dorcas' father Roger had died and the unfulfilled promise had been made. For as much potential learning and growth as the wilderness held out for Reuben's family, his failure to live up to a commitment made in the forest brought tragedy upon his clan. In the sublime balance of morality in the wilderness, the sinners outweigh the saints.

The consequences of vice and virtue in the mountains are central to another Hawthorne tale rooted in the White Mountains, "The Great Carbuncle" (1837). In this story, also apparently learned by Hawthorne from Ethan Crawford in 1832, a band of adventurers go into the mountains searching for a mythical gem of the White Mountains that has populated Indian legend.[261] The band includes a mountain man, an academic scientist, a Boston merchant, a cynic, a poet, a wealthy European lord, and a rustic young couple, each representing a stereotype of the day and all save the couple driven by greed. Greed breaks apart this unlikely fellowship and they each end up searching individually, with the exception of the young couple, Matthew and Hannah, whose love keeps them together. Lost in the clouds, the young lovers follow the shining beacon of the Carbuncle

[260] Hawthorne, "Roger Malvin's Burial," 27.
[261] Crawford, 97.

like the star of the Magi. When they reach the Carbuncle, they find the mountain man dead at the base of the crag. The Cynic follows behind them and is unable to see the stone until, upon removing his rose colored glasses, he is blinded by the jewel. "So long accustomed to view all objects through a medium that deprived them of every glimpse of brightness, a single flash of so glorious a phenomenon, striking upon his naked vision, had blinded him forever."[262] Struck by a wisdom that is rooted in their love for each other, Matthew and Hannah decide to leave the Carbuncle and return to their cabin. Realizing the humble gifts of life Matthew says "We will kindle the cheerful glow of our hearth, at eventide, and be happy in its light. But never again will we desire more light than all the world may share with us."[263] The two lead the blinded Cynic down the mountain, and enjoy a life of humble peace and happiness together in the mountains.

Hannah and Matthew shared a powerful journey through the mountains together, but the gift that Providence gave them was not a material reward. The wilderness journey gave them the wisdom to recognize and value the love they had for each other. They lived up to their commitments in the wilderness, and unlike the family in "Roger Malvin's Burial" they escape tragedy. For the other characters on the journey, the vices of society that they packed with them also bring their ruin. Only Matthew and Hannah realize that the possession of the elements of nature is not what grants happiness, rather it is the journey and commitment to others that allows for happiness.

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[262] Nathaniel Hawthorne, "The Great Carbuncle," in *Tales of the White Mountains*. (Etna, New Hampshire: The Durand Press, 2001), 44-45.
[263] Hawthorne, "The Great Carbuncle," 45.

"The Great Carbuncle" plotted a course of wilderness engagement not based on materialism or wilderness consumption. Matthew and Hannah did not need to take anything physical from the mountains in order to receive the gifts that an interaction with the sublime could provide. Their path was different from the holy war of conquest for Cotton Mather, the trials of the captivity narratives, and that which was being carried out by Hawthorne's generation through Manifest Destiny, Indian removal, and westward expansion. By not consuming the resources of the mountains, Matthew and Hannah foreshadow a possibility of shared usage of public land that would open a space for National Parks, summer camps, and Leave No Trace Ethics. But unfortunately, Hawthorne gives little specific guidance on how to develop that sentiment which led to the salvation of these two lovers. Their decision seems sudden, arbitrary, and rash. Why didn't the Seeker or the Cynic also come to the same conclusion that Matthew and Hannah reached? Although the actions of the two lovers reveal a mutual commitment, for a deeper more intentional experience with the wilderness, a reader needs to look to Franconia Notch and "The Great Stone Face."

No better personification of the lessons of wilderness exists in Hawthorne than the representation of the Old Man of the Mountains in "The Great Stone Face" (1850). The villagers who live at the base of the mountain are idealized in his representation, and they live in a direct relation to the natural world. "It was a happy lot for children to grow up to manhood or woman hood with the Great Stone Face before their eyes," Hawthorne writes. "For all the features were noble, and the expression was at once grand and sweet, as if it were the glow of a vast, warm heart, that embraced all mankind in its affections,

and had room for more. It was an education only to look at it."[264] The mountain, a personification of wilderness, was a directly educative force in the development of the youth in the village below.

For *The Great Stone Face,* Hawthorne took a page from John Bunyan and gave his lead character the morally descriptive name of Ernest, a man for whom the Great Stone Face is his most important teacher. The foundation of Ernest's education was a meditative reflection on the lessons of the mountains. And as a result of this mountain education "Not a day passed by, that the world was not the better because this man, humble as he was, had lived. . . . The pure and high simplicity of his thought, which, as one of its manifestations, took shape in the good deeds that dropped silently from his hand, flowed also forth in speech. He uttered truths that wrought upon and moulded the lives of those who heard them."[265] The people of the mountains who did not reflect on the Great Stone Face were easily swayed and excited by the leaders who came to visit their highland home. They were swept up with each new person and convinced of the similarities between the new leader and the Great Stone Face, only to be disappointed later. But Ernest was not swayed and remained patient. This is an essential point, because in Hawthorne just living close to wilderness did not grant wisdom. Ernest found it because he was humble and reflective, he sought those answers through meditation and he was not confused by book learning or the influences of civilization. His was a pure experiential education of the mountains that was an active process allowing for learning

[264]Nathaniel Hawthorne, "The Great Stone Face," in *Tales of the White Mountains*. (Etna, New Hampshire: The Durand Press, 2001), 50.
[265] Hawthorne, "The Great Stone Face," 65.

and growth, not just contact with field and stream. For Hawthorne, those who lived in the mountains had the advantage of being able to engage them more often, but unless they spent the time and energy reflecting on the lessons of the mountains, they were little better off than those living in cities.

The combination of experience and reflection is essential for this transformative development. Unlike representations of Native Americans from Irving or Cooper who saw their characters as part of the landscape, Ernest is not genetically predisposed to being superior in his wisdom and humility. His knowledge is based on being actively engaging with the wilderness in the proper manner, a reflective manner. If that approach is what matters, not the genetic predisposition, this wilderness wisdom has become democratized. In Hawthorne's universe, any American can find this wisdom in the mountains if they learn to reflect on the path.

Although he remained deeply humble, Ernest's wisdom draws attention with time and his visual similarity to the Great Stone Face surfaces.

> His words had power, because they accorded with his thoughts; and his thoughts had reality and depth, because they harmonized with the life which he had always lived. It was not mere breath that this preacher uttered; they were the words of life, because a life of good deeds and holy love was melted into them.[266]

Like a preacher, he communed with the divine and shared that wisdom with his community. Ernest's resemblance to the Great Stone Face was only then noticed by the poet who, like Hawthorne, helped facilitate an understanding of the wilderness

[266] Hawthorne, "The Great Stone Face," 76.

experience by framing it so the American public could understand. The wilderness was a source of holiness that superseded the written word.

Although "The Great Stone Face" did not directly engage the concept of the dark sublime within the mountains, Hawthorne had not abandoned the topic by the 1850s. In "Ethan Brand", published the same year as "The Great Stone Face," Hawthorne demonstrates the consequences of a darker more selfish intent in the education of the spirit. Ethan Brand, who worked a lime kiln at the base of the northern Berkshire mountain of Graylock, and who, while the roaring furnace turned marble to lime, conversed with demons about the concept of the Unpardonable Sin.[267] Brand's nightly discussions focused on "some mode of guilt which could neither be atoned for nor forgiven" something that was "beyond the scope of Heaven's else infinite mercy."[268] Brand left his Berkshire home to seek this Unpardonable Sin and found it: "It is a sin that grew within my own breast. . . . A sin that grew nowhere else! The sin of an intellect that triumphed over the sense of brotherhood with man and reverence for God, and sacrificed everything to its own mighty claims! The only sin that deserves a recompense of immortal agony!"[269] Brand's sin was the arrogance that came from developing your own mind, disconnected from humanity and religion. From the blast furnace of the lime kiln came Hawthorne's critique of ivory towers.

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[267] Hawthorne spells the mountain as "Graylock" although the more accepted spelling of the highest summit in Massachusetts is "Greylock."

[268] Nathaniel Hawthorne, "Ethan Brand," in *Nathaniel Hawthorne's Tales*. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1987), 234-235. Hawthorne uses the imagery of John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* to ground the demonic horror of Brand's interaction with demons.

[269] Hawthorne, "Ethan Brand," 235.

The idea of the Unpardonable Sin drove Brand away from the bonds of community and into a realm of academic objectivity that destroyed his soul.

> Then ensued that vast intellectual development, which, in its progress, disturbed the counterpoise between his mind and heart. The Idea that possessed his life had operated as a means of education; it had gone on cultivating his powers to the highest point of which they were susceptible; it had raised him from the level of an unlettered laborer to stand on a star-light eminence, wither the philosophers of the earth, laden with the lore of universities, might vainly strive to clamber after him. So much for the intellect! But where was the heart? That, indeed, had withered – had contracted – had hardened – had perished! It had ceased to partake of the universal throb. He had lost his hold of the magnetic chain of humanity. He was no longer a brother-man, opening the chambers or the dungeons of our common nature by the key of holy sympathy, which gave him a right to share in all its secrets; he was now a cold observer, looking on mankind as the subject of his experiment, and, at length, converting man and woman to be his puppets, and pulling the wires that moved them to such degrees of crime as were demanded for his study. Thus Ethan Brand became a fiend.[270]

As soon as his intellect outgrew his compassion for others, he was condemned. Unrepentant and disconnected from the human and the natural world, Brand throws himself into the furnace. For Hawthorne, the educational lesson of "Ethan Brand" was that one's intellectual development must be grounded in a commitment to humanity and community. The protagonist did follow a reflective path, but one that separated him from others, unlike Ernest in "The Great Stone Face." To see pure individualism through academic pursuits was to follow a path that led to the Hell fires at the base of Mount Graylock.

Unlike Ethan Brand, Ernest in "The Great Stone Face", the Willey Family of "The Ambitious Guest" and Matthew and Hannah of "The Great Carbuncle" all display a

[270] Hawthorne, "Ethan Brand," 241.

simple rustic virtue rooted in a commitment to each other and a reflective experience close to the natural world. Together they create a workable ideology that asserts a moral education in the wilderness had superior outcomes to the books and classrooms of the city. The mountain classroom also demonstrates an effective inoculation to the vice and fickle sways of capitalism and democracy. These lessons find expression in longer form within Hawthorne's novels as well, specifically regarding the wilderness experience of Hester Prynne and young Pearl.

In *The Scarlet Letter* (1850), Hester's banishment from "civilized" society provides her with the opportunity to engage the wilderness existing just beyond the city limits of colonial Boston. While Dimmesdale's constitution grows weak and sickly through a civilized education in an urban world, Hester and Pearl gain strength from living closer to nature on the fringe of civilization. Like Ichabod Crane before him, Dimmesdale is unable to survive, physically and morally, in the rugged wilds of the colonies. His education was limited to the human world of civilization and did not equip him for the sublime forces of wilderness.

> Hester Prynne, with a mind of native courage and activity. . . .had wandered, without rule or guidance, in a moral wilderness; as vast, as intricate and shadowy, as the untamed forest. . . . Her intellect and her heart had their home, as it were, in desert places, where she roamed as freely as the wild Indian in his woods. . . . The tendency of her fate and fortunes had been to set her free. The scarlet letter was her passport into regions where other women dared not tread. Shame, Despair, Solitude! These had been her teachers, - - stern and wild ones, - - and they had made her strong, but taught her much amiss. The minister, on the other hand,

> had never gone through an experience calculated to lead him beyond the scope of generally received laws.[271]

Although schooled in civilization, Hester learns deeper and richer lessons when society casts her into a wilderness where she remains, staying true to her word and not betraying Dimmesdale's identity as Pearl's father. The consequence of shouldering this commitment was the development of a unique wisdom, grounded and authentic. Dimmesdale, however, failing to act with courage in living up to his paternal responsibility, is debilitated by the experience. His sin and weakness of character can be hidden in the city or in the civilization of Europe, but in an American wilderness, he has no hope of survival.

For Pearl, conceived in the forest and therefore the offspring of wilderness and civilization, much like Charles Hobomok Conant and Natty Bumpo before her, the natural world was her classroom. Denied the opportunity to attend school with the children of the city, Pearl found her lessons in the forest, learning from the plants, the squirrels, and the birds. Her education was rooted in direct experience with the natural world, not unlike Ernest gazing at the Great Stone Face. She became an odd child by society's standards but "the mother-forest, and these wild things which it nourished, all recognized a kindred wildness in the human child."[272] Although the narrator denies us the certainty of Pearl's fate, he infers that she was gifted with wealth, family, and a fine home in a distant land far away from the judgment of Boston, linking success with her wilderness education.

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[271] Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter*. (New York: Simon and Schuster Paperbacks, 2009), 239.
[272] Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter*, 245.

Although the superficial and judgmental urban society of Boston represents a source of evil in the lives of the main characters, there is a much greater source of evil which bears with it the influence of the sublime. When Chillingworth first enters the novel, he comes from the wilderness, dressed in "a strange disarray of civilized and savage costume" and accompanied by an Indian.[273] Chillingworth, as a physician who knows the power of herbs for medicinal use, shows a strong connection to the natural world. He uses the bounty of nature to heal the body, but also uses his power and influence to inflict great harm. Like the blinding light of the Great Carbuncle, the rock and earth of the Willey slide, or the tragedy over Roger Malvin's grave, the beauty of the wilderness is often betrayed by its darker side. Once Chillingworth's evil project was complete and Dimmesdale passed away, life quickly left the physician as well. Like Ethan Brand, his quest for the Unpardonable Sin was complete.

As he brought his *Essay on American Scenery* to a close, Thomas Cole reflected on a conflict between humanity and the sublime, that the presence of man in a wilderness can act as a destructive force to that wilderness and the natural world. Man's weaker nature eliminates the wilderness as part of the natural course of things, but as long as nature still exists, we must develop an appreciation from it, or else give in to our own ignorance.[274] The work of Thomas Cole planted seeds in the imagery of the White Mountains that would be harvested for generations, nurturing a respect for wild lands and the lessons they could teach. Cole's facilitation of the wilderness was for the visual

[273] Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter*, 69.
[274] Cole, 10.

consumption of the learner, but it was based on the primary experiences that he had in those places. The artist had gone into the wild and selected those elements which would have the most to teach, transforming them into an experience for the student back in civilization. By the end of the century, the technology of the railroad and the emergence of a mountain tourist industry would allow urbanites to have their own primary experiences in the mountains. The physical places experienced by Cole and Hawthorne could be personally experienced by thousands of Americans. The strength of character illustrated by Cole's Daniel Boone or the anonymous New Hampshire hikers and fishermen formed through interaction with actual places, and so northeast urbanites carried north by nostalgia and the iron horse would seek out those same places intending to regenerate their own character. The White Mountain landscape paintings became the tool that not only captured the lessons of wilderness, but framed the experience for summer adventures in the mountains, illustrating the activities that should be conducted while engaging the sublime.

Tourism and Recreation as Wilderness Pursuits in the White Mountains

As early as the 1820's, wealthy tourists escaped the cities of Boston and New York to find refuge in New Hampshire's White Mountains. For many, the physical and spiritual renewal that came from climbing mountains provided a liberating break from the restrictions of upper-middle-class social life.[275] The influx of wealthy tourists led to the development of various posh resort hotels, rich with the elegance and refinement needed to counter the savage wilderness outside. With this balance of the sublime and the

[275] Donna-Belle Garvin, ed., *Consuming Views: Art and Tourism in the White Mountains, 1850-1900* (Concord, New Hampshire; New Hampshire Historical Society, 2006), 11.

beautiful, wealthy Americans could personally experience the virtues that Cole had described. Ironically, by the time of the railroad's arrival in the 1850s this sparsely populated rural area had become a central part of an urban social network. The art and literature that found inspiration in the White Mountains grew in popularity in Boston and New York, thereby framing the visual, emotional and physical experience of the mountains.[276] In the development of this form of adult recreation, the cultural paths were established in the mountains which led Americans to a stronger belief in the connection of wilderness activity and personal growth. By the end of the century, those paths were well blazed for a younger generation.

The physical geography of New Hampshire helped create the condition that would make it the ideal wilderness playground. The combination of mountains, diverse vegetation, and a temperate climate, as well as steady annual precipitation and a foundation of granite combine to create a landscape dotted with rivers, lakes, ponds and other wetlands, sheltering an abundant wildlife population. Although much of the land had been originally cleared for farming during the colonial period and sheep herding in the Federal period, the thin mountain soil could not withstand long term use, and a significant portion of the population moved west in the late nineteenth century as a consequence in an environmental and economic crisis known as The Great Emptying Out. With farms and homes abandoned in the decades after the Civil War, property values dropped and the forest returned, setting up the ideal conditions for an emerging

[276] Dona Brown, *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995).

recreation industry where resorts could buy up inexpensive land and abandoned highways between empty villages became romantic trails for hiking and riding pleasure.[277] As historian Eric Purchase observed, New Hampshire land owners and speculators transformed the landscape of New Hampshire into a visual and experiential commodity. This was not utilitarian agrarianism, but a tourist industry where hiking trails and picturesque vistas increased the land value and railroad companies and innkeepers cashed in. For this transformation to be successful, artists and landowners had to work together, educating the broader public in the value of the visual and experiential landscape.[278]

Along with the imagery produced in American landscape paintings, one of the main ways that the value of the land was both created and captured was through tourist guide books and souvenir view books. The guide books framed the experience for the tourist, outlining the highlights of what to see, providing the historical and cultural context for those highlights, and making recommendations on where to spend money. As Herbert Gottfried has argued, these guide books and view books illustrated the schemas, or patterns of the mind, that Americans held throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as well as a means to consume the experience of the landscape.[279] Although each individual experienced the landscape on their own, or in small groups, these

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[277] Tom Wessels, *Reading the Forested Landscape: A Natural History of New England*. (Woodstock, Vermont: The Countryman Press, 1994); Albert Carlson, "Recreation Industry in New Hampshire," *Economic Geography* 14 (July 1938): pp. 255-270.
[278] Eric Purchase, *Out of Nowhere: Disaster and Tourism in the White Mountains.* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).
[279] Herbert Gottfried, *Landscape in American Guides and View Books: Visual History of Tourism and Travel*. (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2013), 3.

souvenirs constructed a larger mass produced, market driven common experience.[280] Guide books provided the information needed to immerse oneself in the landscape, in order to gain the wisdom and lessons from the wilderness. They served as prescriptions that would allow an urban Bostonian to gain the wisdom from the mountains like Hawthorne's Ernest or Cooper's Bumppo, but through a more efficient summer vacation rather than a life time living in the remote wilderness. By learning the context and physically experiencing the divine and sublime in the mountains, tourists could be transformed into a stronger, healthier, and more cultured version of themselves, literally re-created through recreation.

The first White Mountain tourist hotel and the first guide to the White Mountains were products of the Crawford family. Ethan Allen Crawford and his father Abel cut the first path to the summit on Mount Washington in 1819. Although they had not planned on running a hotel from their farm in the Notch of the White Mountains, after the third group of tourists stayed with them, they gradually began converting their home into a tourist destination.[281] By providing accommodations and guiding visitors to the summit, the Crawford family facilitated the White Mountain experience for their guests while establishing the mythology of the New England wilderness. When Lucy Crawford, Ethan's wife, wrote her *History of the White Mountains* in 1846, she captured in print the stories that had been told and retold by the guides on the trail and around the fireplace in a format that could then be carried home.

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[280] Gottfried, 4.
[281] Lucy Crawford, *Lucy Crawford's History of the White Mountains*. (Boston: Appalachian Mountain Club, 1987. Originally published 1846), 41.

Lucy Crawford's depiction of her husband casts him as a mountain man par excellence. Named after the Revolutionary War hero and leader of Vermont's Green Mountain Boys, Ethan Allen Crawford personified the frontier lifestyle in ways that would have made James Fennimore Cooper proud. Crawford was a skilled hunter who knew the mountains and spent his life guiding others safely through the dangers of the landscape. Unlike Cooper's hero, Crawford did not need to protect his participants from Indian raids, but rather from the existential threat of the weather, the sublime force of God that made the adventures in the Whites so authentic. As Lucy explained, survival in the mountain wilderness required specific skills or a guide who could "prepare fuel for the night fires and build a camp suitable to protect them from the mountain winds" and that required experience, not book learning.[282] Near the end of the text, Lucy mourns her husband's death by saying "His giant strength will long be remembered by those who have been carried down the ragged sides of Mount Washington upon his huge shoulders before a path was made suitable for a horse to ascend. As a guide, all felt secure while under his care. Every locality was known to him and everything which was of interest to the tourist pointed out with pleasure by him. Without his presence the White Hills to many lost half their charms."[283] His role as a guide and his commitment to others were his most memorable virtues; like Natty Bumppo, he was self-reliant but focused on helping others, the very image of rugged communalism.

[282] Crawford, 101.
[283] Crawford, 181.

The Crawfords lived a life of hardscrabble opportunism, consisting of farming, running a tavern, working as a road agent, trapping and selling bear skins, and anything else that could turn a profit. They conformed to the Emersonian ideal from "Self-Reliance," superior to their urban brethren because of their resourcefulness, resilience, and education through primary experience. As Emerson noted:

> If the finest genius studies at one of our colleges and is not installed in an office within one year afterwards in the cities or suburbs of Boston or New York, it seems to his friends and to himself that he is right in being disheartened and in complaining the rest of his life. A sturdy lad from New Hampshire or Vermont, who in turn tries all the professions, who *teams it, farms it, peddles,* keeps a school, preaches, edits a newspaper, goes to Congress, buys a township, and so forth, is worth a hundred of these city dolls. He walks abreast with his days and feels no shame in not 'studying a profession,' for he does not postpone his life, but lives already. He has not one chance, but a hundred chances.[284]

Ethan's influence on American culture also came as not one chance, but a hundred chances. Thomas Cole stayed with the Crawford family in 1827 and in 1828. In July 1832, Emerson left Boston to stay with the Crawfords and reflect on his own future, deciding on his trip that he needed to quit the ministry and pursue a more literary and Transcendental path. That summer Washington Irving visited the Crawfords and in September 1832, Nathaniel Hawthorne arrived.[285] From listening to Ethan's stories Hawthorne learned the White Mountain legends that formed the basis of "The Great Carbuncle" and "The Ambitious Guest."[286] Through days of hiking with Ethan and evenings exchanging ideas around the fire, the communal experience of the White

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[284] Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Self-Reliance" in *The Essential Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*. (New York: Modern Library, 2000), 147.
[285] Purchase, 26.
[286] Crawford, 97.

Mountain backcountry nurtured Romantic ideals and allowed them to flow down the mountains to the publishing houses of Boston.

As authors, artists, and students experienced the Crawford House, the new mythology of the mountains assumed a new importance in the popular understanding of American character. But although the rugged communalism of the Crawfords made a powerful impact on visitors, the dark power of the sublime left its mark only a few miles away. The virtues associated with the Crawford family were no less important at the Willey House, but as morally polished as the Willey's were, the sublime power of nature was just too terrible. The family was noble, and not destroyed because of their sin, but they were obliterated nonetheless. The Willey and Crawford families created case studies that personified the Romantic mythology of the mountains, a blend of tragedy and heroism all within a few miles of each other. More importantly, they became consumable through tourist experiences. Visits, guide books, images, and adventures all provided ways for New Englanders to become a part of this experience and transform themselves as a result.

In a situation that paralleled Cooper's novel *The Pioneers*, the Crawfords lost their home in the Notch because of deceptive land speculators and capitalists who used the banks and the courts to seize the land from the family who had worked and developed it.[287] Reinforcing the lesson of Cooper, the pioneering families lost out to legalists of questionable morals and inferior character. But although profits were eventually directed away from the Crawfords, their example paved the way for other mountain guides and

[287] Crawford, 212-220.

defined virtues and experiences that would be foundational to the outdoor education movement.

Although Lucy Crawford's *History of the White Mountains* helped put the New Hampshire mountain experience on America's cultural map, the first real guide book to the Whites was published in 1850 by E. B. Tripp and W. H. Morril of Concord, New Hampshire. Their short text, *Guide to the White Mountains and Lakes of New-Hampshire,* approached the tourist experience through a more experiential narrative, outlining a pilgrimage tourists could follow from the bustling urban growth of Massachusetts to the inspirational Crystal Hills of New Hampshire, the "Indian Olympus."[288] Using language reminiscent of Bunyan, the Tripp and Morril Guide provided specific details regarding routes, fares, hotels and other necessary practical information between Boston and the White Mountains, but its real value rested in the highlights and the specific destinations along the route. Starting in Concord, the guidebook pointed out its factories, the insane asylum, state house, and prison as notable representations of the age, but as the tourist moved to the outskirts of town the images of old wilderness memory surfaced in a monument to victims of early Indian raids and the ruins of an old fort and ancient homes, complete with bullet holes.[289] From there, the traveler could visit a productive settlement of Shakers in the town of Canterbury, a town "noted for the severity of Indian warfare it suffered or enjoyed in its infancy."[290] As the traveler moved north, the landscape began to assert its dominance starting with Lake

[288] *Guide to the White Mountains and Lakes of New-Hampshire*. (Concord, New Hampshire: Tripp & Morril, 1850), 27.
[289] *Guide to the White Mountains and Lakes of New-Hampshire*, 3-4.
[290] *Guide to the White Mountains and Lakes of New-Hampshire*, 7.

Winnipiseogee (sic) with its "masterly sweeps of nature – from which art has derived all its apprehension of ease and grace."[291] In Moultonborough, the tourist found a mineral springs, perfect for the purification needed to continue the journey as well as a cave filled with Indian relics. By this point in the journey, the references to the Indians were not based in violence and conflict, but rather a mystical nostalgia. The Moultonborough cave contained links to the Ossipee Tribe and "a tree rudely sculptured with hieroglyphics of their history, adventures, and expeditions."[292] No longer in conflict with native tribes, the traveler could follow in the footsteps of their wisdom, like a character in the Leatherstocking Tales. Once in the mountains, the pressures of the market were gone and the tourist could fish, hike and enjoy the visual experience of the mountains. The scenery and vistas are the most important attractions, in addition to stays at the Crawford House and the Willey House.

On July 4, 1851, the first train to the White Mountains pulled into Gorham, New Hampshire. With the arrival of the steel rail, the White Mountain tourist experience transformed into a collaboration of railroad companies, hotels, and tourist publications all working in concert to structure tourist experiences in the mountains.[293] The steady stream of tourists demanded hotels and unique tourist experiences in the Whites. In 1852, businessmen from Jefferson, NH founded the Summit House, the first mountaintop hotel on the summit of Mount Washington as well as the Tip-Top House the following

[291] *Guide to the White Mountains and Lakes of New-Hampshire*, 14.
[292] *Guide to the White Mountains and Lakes of New-Hampshire*, 16-17.
[293] Purchase, 44.

year. By 1854 both hotels were run by John H. Spaulding.[294] Looking to promote his business, Spaulding penned one of the most popular pocket guides to the region, *Historical Relics of the White Mountains*. Spaulding's text contained over one hundred short vignettes, often no more than one or two pages that contextualized the mountain region. His stories were more mythical and spooky than Lucy Crawford's accounts, drawing from Indian legends, ghost stories, magic, and mysterious happenings in the mountains. Many of his stories were associated with specific locations such as Tuckerman's Ravine or the Flume, providing descriptions for the potential hiker. Others suggest the mystery of something hidden, like mysterious carbuncles or the hidden treasure of Rogers' Rangers, inspiring avaricious adventurers to actively search the mountains. Spaulding's great skill lay in his ability to excite the curiosity of the reader about the darker spookiness of the mountains, while also providing safe accommodations for travelers. In his attempt to negotiate the sublime, he tried to embrace its darker moods, without courting the associated risks. By turning existential fear into superstitious entertainment well suited for campfire stories, he laid out a path that was less geared toward character development than capital development.

By the end of the nineteenth century the guide books and much of the White Mountain tourist experience had abandoned the argument for moral development in favor of a more pampered tourism. The *Androscoggin Lakes Illustrated* (1888) was an aggressivly promotional text, "published for free by the Androscoggin Lakes Transport

[294] John H. Spaulding, *Historical Relics of the White Mountains*. (Littleton, New Hampshire: Bondcliff Books, 1998. Originally published 1855), introduction no page number.

Co."[295] The text noted how many people have been struck by "Camping out Fever" which could be satisfied in the mountains of Maine and New Hampshire. It further notes, though, that "however inspired people may be with life in the woods, they soon get tired of washing dishes, cooking meals, cutting wood, lugging water, and the various routine of duty that is inseparable from life in a tent."[296] At this point, they should avoid the tent to enjoy one of the lovely hotels operated by the company. The booklet covered a wide variety of essential "how to's" including how to deal with bugs, what to wear, and how to choose the right hotel. The images in the text illustrated the built environment of the hotels as well as hunting scenes with game animals standing still and at close range. Unlike Spaulding and Crawford who took the approach of framing the wilderness experience through the context of their stories, this guide was very prescriptive, detailing exactly what should be done as well as advertising tours with very specific itineraries, all "personally conducted by Capt. Charles A. J. Farrar" (the author) for the price of fifty dollars per excursion.[297] It would be easy to say that this consumerism replaced Romanticism as the dominant experience of the White Mountains, but it would be more accurate to say that while commercial development brought the trappings of urban society into the rural mountain landscape. The rural ideal remained a strong force in the aesthetic of White Mountain art. It was still Romantic, but just with different packaging.

As part of the growing tourist industry, hotel owners and landscape painters developed a symbiotic relationship. In 1850, two of the more entrepreneurial landscape

[295] Charles A. J. Farrar. *The Androscoggin Lakes Illustrated*. (Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, Printers, 1888), 5.
[296] Farrar, 11.
[297] Farrar, 92.

artists, Benjamin Chapney and John F. Kensett, went to the Whites ahead of the arrival of the rail road. Both artists were recruited by an innkeeper in North Conway to enhance a scenic reputation of the town and promote tourism once the railroad was complete. The artists and the townspeople would capitalize on the scenic imagery once the tourists came.[298] Hotels hired painters such as Frank Henry Shapleigh and Edward Hill to be artists-in-residence for the summer, becoming as much a part of the experience as the mountains themselves. Their landscapes would in turn serve two purposes: 1) to provide tourists with an elegant souvenir to display in their parlors, and 2) to help them interpret their wilderness experience.[299] The mid-nineteenth century landscape artist assumed an almost heroic role as adventurer in American culture, working as explorer, scientist, educator, frontiersman and minister. They had to interpret the beauty of nature, but in order to do this they needed to understand the geological and meteorological importance of the environment and have the physical stamina to reach obscure mountain vistas.[300] Through intentional social interaction with this adventurous clergy of the mountains, hotel managers were able to facilitate the experience of the mountain tourists.

In her extensive study of nineteenth-century landscape paintings, Barbara Novak points to the solitary figure as being the "primary unit of nineteenth-century iconography."[301] Rarely protagonists in American landscapes, these sole figures commune with the transcendence of nature. The act of looking and pondering nature

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[298] Purchase, 93-95.
[299] Garvin, 12.
[300] Barbara Novak, *Nature and Culture: American Landscape and Painting: 1825-1875*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).
[301] Novak, 157.

serves as their most virtuous act, a type of devotion to God that advances the Emersonian ideal of a union of man and nature that is both modeled by the Figure and practiced by the viewer.[302] Benjamin Champney's *Thompson Falls and the Saco Valley* (Figure 3.8) illustrates this transformative experience as a lone hiker sits with his dog, reflecting on the permanence yet dynamic motion of the waterfall. Free from all other signs of humanity, this hiker basks in this reflective landscape of the mountains, but the tourist paintings of the White Mountains also introduce various other activities through which the Figure is able to commune with nature, activities which would then become essential parts of the White Mountain tourist experience and later the curriculum of outdoor education.

Asher B. Durand's *Mount Washington from the Saco River, North Conway* (Figure 3.9) captures a solitary individual fly fishing from the shore of the Saco. Although still mighty and dominant, Mount Washington appears in realistic proportion here and not exaggerated in order to reinforce its sublime power. Instead, these mountains represent a more accessible and realistic alpine environment, thereby creating a less intimidating and more leisurely and recreational image suitable to vacationers.[303] A consumer of this painting would be attracted to it simply because he might have fished that spot or somewhere similar, not because the fisherman represents something larger or more abstract.

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[302] Novak, 158-165. This is very much in opposition to Albert Boime's concept of the *Magisterial Gaze*. Although Boime's focus on the viewpoint of the landscape suggests an exertion of power and domination over the landscape, Novak's identification of the transcendental experience of "Figure" more closely resonates with my concept of the artist as facilitator. Novak's Figure illustrates an individual who is communing with and succumbing to nature, not dominating it.

[303] Garvin, 32.

White Mountain art also distinguished itself from paintings of the frontier wilderness in its representation of watercraft. The boats represented in Jasper Francis Cropsey's *Mount Washington from Sebago, Maine* (Figure 3.10) are recreational in nature. They are not demonstrating commerce or economic potential of ships and riverboats as was often true in paintings of this period; rather they suggest an escape from the pressures of the market. The focus on the recreational rather than the allegorical or historical serves as both a tool to frame the wilderness experience and as an activity guide and souvenir of the experience.[304]

By the 1870's and continuing into the 1880's, landscape paintings from the White Mountains captured a variety of recreational activities in a single image, creating a veritable "What I Did Last Summer" story on canvas with oil. In addition, they also shifted from illustrating a solitary figure engaging the environment to small groups and families actively recreating outdoors, suggesting that wilderness recreation was becoming a more social experience. Frank Henry Shapleigh, who worked closely with the proprietors of the Crawford House, immortalized the magnificent vistas from a family's hike in Crawford Notch, including the smoke bellowing from the train bringing more visitors through the Notch (Figure 3.11). Further west, visitors to the Profile House

[304] One interesting connection to the frontier paintings of George Caleb Bingham can be made through Nancy Rash's observations of the contemporary subjects of Bingham having been drawn from real life, not an idealized past. She notes that although Bingham's Riverboat paintings are often categorized as nostalgia, they were actually speaking to conditions in the present as well as political objectives of the future. These men were working the river, and the federal investment in clearing snags on the waterways would benefit their work. After the days of the Riverboatmen had passed, the imagery can be mistaken as nostalgic, but at the time it represented a lived, present reality. I believe that this temporal reality of the present also exists in the paintings of the White Mountains and in fact their value as marketing devices rests on their representation of present conditions. If the paintings represent a way of life or conditions that can no longer be experienced, then they are of no value as marketing for tourism. The tourist must believe that this place looks as real today (or when their trip has been booked) as it does in the painting.

enjoyed the spot from which Thomas Cole had contemplated the perfect exemplar of American scenery, Franconia Notch.[305] Edward Hill's *Eagle Cliff from Profile Lake* (Figure 3.12) shows a couple casually rowing in a sheltered cove, while Samuel Lancaster Gerry's *Old Man of the Mountain Near Profile House, White Mtns* (Figure 3.13) captures multiple groups of men, women, and children relaxing, paddling, and picnicking in Franconia Notch. The natural wood exterior and grey roof of the resort's boat house allows it to blend into the scenery, much like Daniel Boone's home (Figure 3.2) or the house in Crawford Notch (Figure 3.7) from Cole's works earlier in the century.

Edward Hill's *Franconia Notch, White Mts. - - Echo Lake and Profile House* (Figure 3.14) is one of the finest examples of the blending of landscape elements and tourist experiences, creating an image that illustrates the recreational opportunities and the transcendental lessons of a vacation in Franconia Notch. The white-capped summit of Mount Lafayette dominates the primeval forests of the Notch as the calm surface of Echo Lake reflects the green and granite flanks of Cannon Mountain. Beside the gnarled roots and exposed vegetation on the summit of the not-so-subtly named Artists Bluff stands a single hiker contemplating his White Mountain vista. From where he stands, the Profile House stretches luxuriously across on the valley floor as the tourist train heads north out of the Notch. Steaming its way across Echo Lake, the single boat filled with tourists prepares to experience the signature attraction of the Notch, hearing the booming

[305] Thomas Cole, *Essay on American Scenery.*

reverberations of an alpine horn echo off the mountains from the center of the lake.[306] The close positioning of the steamboat and the train suggest an auditory landscape filled with the sound of the alpine horn as well as the scream of the train's whistle and the rhythmic rumble of the cars on the tracks. The fair, but not clear, sky hints that a steady breeze may also be blowing through the valley, whispering in the trees and bushes surrounding the hiker. Hill, the artist-in-residence at the Profile House, framed the sights and sounds of the wilderness experience, both natural and man-made, in a single canvas, showing what could be learned in the White Mountains, as well as how it felt to experience them.

The presence of the railroad in the mountains and its impact on the experience of the wilderness is a complicated one. As John Stilgoe and Eric Purchase have both observed, the expansion of the railroad west contributed to the economic collapse of the mountain farms of New England, causing land that had been converted from forest to farmland to then return to a state of wilderness. This was the paradox the railroad created on the landscape: it heralded the introduction of a new technology that actually caused the New England mountain landscape to return to a state of wilderness. The fast moving urban society that the railroad made possible in the city caused people to long for the rest and recreation of a more natural space. But in order to get to that space, the railroad had to be extended into these remote scenic locales, pushing modern technology into the heart of the wilderness. The more people that felt the need to escape the city, the more trains

[306] The use of man-made noise to create thunder was an experience that had its roots in the Crawford House of the 1830s. Ethan Allen Crawford would often carry a tin horn and blow the trumpet so as to entertain and enchant his visitors. (Crawford, 58) He later upgraded to a small cannon that he used to create "Crawford's Man Made Thunder."

would depart for the mountains, contradicting in some ways the very reason for escape.[307] The cultural work of the White Mountain artists was to mediate this complicated relationship of wilderness and technology, to normalize and romanticize it so as not to detract from the sense of the sublime that the wilderness was meant to achieve.[308]

Shapleigh's *Crawford Valley from Mount Willard* (Figure 3.11) and Hill's *Franconia Notch, White Mts.* (Figure 3.14) illustrate how the White Mountain artists worked to recast the railroad travel as part of the mountain experience. In both cases, the journey by rail appears as an essential part of experiencing the landscape, as much as hiking Mount Washington or hearing the Alpine horn on Echo Lake. The visual experience of watching the train pass through the notch proves to be just as significant as the view experienced from within the train. The link between the railroad and the artist received further elaboration in the 1894 edition of *Picturesque America, or, The Land We Live In* originally published in 1872 and edited by William Cullen Bryant. The text identifies the wide variety of natural locations around the United States that serve as ideal subjects for artists. In the Preface to the second edition, the author notes that the railroad has opened up access to these scenic places to all Americans and that in the twenty years

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[307] John R. Stilgoe, *Metropolitan Corridor: Railroads and the American Scene* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983); Eric Purchase, 45-49.

[308] Leo Marx and Barbara Novak both note the intrusion of the railroad on the natural environment, negatively impacting the sights, sounds, and experience of the wilderness. Albert Boime observes that landscapes such as George Inness's *Lackawanna Valley* and Jasper Cropsey's *Starrucca Viaduct, Pennsylvania* worked to create a peaceful assimilation of landscape and technology, whereas Alan Wallach uses *River in the Catskills* to show that Thomas Cole employed landscape to voice his distaste for the intrusion of progress and technology in the wilderness. I believe that the White Mountain artists were motivated to follow the assimilation path in their works. The inclusion of the train as a part of the landscape would have suggested accessibility and a link to the world at home, much like a cell phone in the pocket of a twenty-first century White Mountain tourist.

since the original printing, the railroad and the resort hotels have improved greatly.[309] The fact that more railroad access and finer hotels were seen as improvements by the turn of the twentieth century, suggests that tourism and technology were as essential to the landscape artist as paint and palette.

The nineteenth century blending of art, tourism, and the railroad was not unique to the White Mountains. William Truettner and Robin Bolton-Smith observed the importance of the artist on the formation of the National Parks in their essay *National Parks and the American Landscape*. They identified Cole as the first artist to see the American landscape as a national symbol and as a means by which the mind could discover the natural moral laws of the universe.[310] Cole and other "landscape transcendentalists" worked to portray accurately the physical as well as communicate the spiritual.[311] Anne Farrar Hyde explored the influence of art and architecture on the development and promotion of western resorts by American railroad companies. She argued that the visions of wilderness created in the East were modified by the unique realities of the far West to create a unique western landscape that had a major impact on American culture. Landscape paintings and photographs framed the experience and promoted travel to western destinations, including the great lodges of the newly opened national parks of Yellowstone, Glacier, and the Grand Canyon. These lodges combined eastern luxury and local rustic elements, utilizing the architecture of Adirondack hunting

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[309] William Cullen Bryant, ed. *Picturesque America, or, The Land We Live In* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1894), 3-4.
[310] William Truettner and Robin Bolton-Smith, *National Parks and the American Landscape* (City of Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1972), 20.
[311] Truettner and Bolton-Smith, 24.

camps, natural building materials, and images of a non-threatening wilderness and Indian culture to create a new American style.[312] Landscape painters absorbed their primary experiences, selected the essential elements, and ordered them in order to stress the moral virtues of the wilderness and the activities essential to learning those virtues.

Whether in the east or the west, the greatest contribution of the White Mountain landscape paintings to outdoor education came in their identification of the physical activities that should be conducted in the outdoors. They celebrated a physical and experiential interaction with the natural world not usually present in the Hudson River School paintings. The people in these paintings actively engage the natural world; fishing, hiking, and paddling for recreational purposes that strengthen the body and the spirit against the corrupting influences of the city. These same activities formed the central curriculum for outdoor educators in the twentieth century.

A Woman's Place is on the Trail

In August 1821, the Austin sisters, three young women from Portsmouth, arrived in the White Mountains to attempt the first female ascent of Mount Washington. Accompanied by their brother and a fiancé, the team made it to the first and second camps before a storm blew in and forced them to wait. Running low on supplies, they sent a message to Ethan Allen Crawford asking for assistance and support. The weather cleared and rather than retreat, Crawford accompanied them to the summit where they experienced a perfectly clear and radiant view from the highest peak in New England. As Crawford remembered, "We could look over the whole creation with wonder and

[312] Anne Farrar Hyde, *An American Vision: Far Western Landscape and National Culture, 1820-1920* (New York: New York University Press, 1990), 293.

surprise, as far as the eye could extend, in every direction, and view the wonderful works of God!"[313] Upon their return from the summit, Crawford's admiration for the women was profound. "The ladies returned, richly paid for their trouble, after being out five days and three nights. I think this act of heroism ought to confer an honor on them, as everything was done with so much prudence and modesty by them; there was not left a trace or even a chance for a reproach or slander excepting by those who thought themselves outdone by these young ladies."[314]

John Spaulding also accounted for the heroics of women in the Whites in a passage of *Historical Relics of the White Mountains* titled "Remarkable Feats in White-Mountain Life." In addition to men hiking Mount Washington barefoot or racing to the summit in under two hours he includes the following:

> Miss Clune, of Boston, walked from the Glen up through Tuckerman's Ravine, to the top of Mount Washington, without a guide, August 26, 1856. She was dressed like a Swiss peasant, and wore the same shoes, and carried the same steel-pointed staff, that she used the year before in crossing the Alps.
>
> A Miss Prentiss, of Paris, Me., walked up from the Glen, August 22, 1856, without a guide, in a snowstorm, to the top of Mount Washington.
>
> The 25th of July, 1855, a lady by the name of Branch, walked from the Glen to Tip-Top and back, the same day, on a bet of one thousand dollars. She accomplished the feat, and danced at the Glen in the evening. The cause of the bet was on account of her weight being 230 lbs. She was of medium height, and the heaviest lady that ever visited Tip-Top.[315]

Such stories illustrated that women were not only present in the White Mountains, but were active and respected participants in the world of nineteenth century outdoor

[313] Crawford, 51.
[314] Crawford, 51.
[315] Spaulding, 94-95.

recreation. As historian Kathy Peiss has observed, leisure and recreation provided ways for women to push the boundaries of social convention.[316] In many of the images and accounts of White Mountain adventure, men and women enjoy the wilderness together, facing its challenges side-by-side and in doing so, they were effectively weakening the traditional gender roles of the period.[317] Free from the separate spheres that bound them in the cities below, women could test their strength, courage, and stamina in the mountains just as well as men.

Summiting Mount Washington, the highest peak in New England, was a grand adventure and an essential component of the White Mountain experience, especially among the leisure enthusiasts of post-Civil War America. Winslow Homer emerged from the Civil War as an experienced newspaper illustrator, whose realistic imagery focused on poignant moments represented as he witnessed them, rather than reinterpreted or reorganized in a manner that Cole would have advocated. After the war, he turned his eye to recreational activities in the suburbs of Boston, on the beaches of Newport, and in the White Mountains of New Hampshire. In his representation of women, his documentary style captured them in moments of action, not in an idealized or moralizing fashion.[318] Homer's *Bridal Path White Mountains* (Figure 3.15) captured one woman's journey to the summit of New England's most famous peak. Riding side saddle as her pony gingerly navigates the barren rock of the summit, a summer haze obscures the

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[316] Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York.* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986).
[317] James McGovern, "The American Woman's Pre-World War I Freedom in Manners and Morals," *The Journal of American History*. 55 (September 1968): pp 315-333.
[318] Elizabeth Johns, *Winslow Homer: The Nature of Observation* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2002).

mountains in the distance. Elizabeth Johns observed that she is "in command of herself" on the summit, confident strong and reflectively immersed in thought.[319] This brave adventurous woman not only appears at home in the mountains, her image also transcended the boundaries between high and low art when Homer chose to represent this scene in the pages of *Harper's Weekly* where this message of outdoor recreation would reach a much larger viewing public. In Homer's *Harper's Weekly* woodcut titled *The Summit of Mount Washington* from July 10, 1869 (Figure 3.16) this same woman, clad in a white dress and blue ribbon while riding a pale horse, joins another female companion as well as numerous other men and women on the mountain. The presence of women on the summit of the region's most treacherous peak appears again in Homer's *The Coolest Spot in New England – Summit of Mount Washington* from 1870 (Figure 3.17) with four women and two men enjoying the view and withstanding the high winds atop Mt. Washington. Although fashionably well-dressed and refined, these resort tourists must have reached the summit through some means of exertion, likely on horseback via the Bridal Path.[320] The Tip Top House rests in the background, anchored by the four chains holding down its roof against the high winds, but this band of mountaineers needs no such aids and can bravely face the elements. Harry Fenn's image of *The Descent from Mt. Washington* (Figure 3.18), published in *Picturesque America* in 1872, shows a much less hospitable summit of the highest mountain in the northeast, but it is a woman leading the train of horse packers. Homer's realism in high art and the popular press,

[319] Johns, 59.
[320] Another possible option could be the Cog Railway, the famous tourist attraction which had been completed the summer before and still carries tourists to the summit of Mount Washington.

corroborated by Fenn's characterization in a popular gift book, suggests that women confidently engaging the challenge of outdoor recreation were an accepted part of the White Mountain experience. That these women could survive on Mount Washington, location of the worst weather recorded on planet Earth, shows that in late nineteenth-century America, a women's place was on the mountain trail as well as the urban domestic sphere below.[321]

The challenge that mountain recreation posed to the gendered spheres existed outside of the bridal path on Mount Washington. In Homer's *The Fishing Party* from 1869 (Figure 3.19), the men merely relax under the trees while the women are actively engaged in the sport of fishing. The seated woman in the foreground searches through her tackle box for the correct lure, while the others manage their lines in the current. These women have an agency in the woods that they might not otherwise have had in the city. The men, although present, are neither involved nor needed; neither teacher nor paternal guide, they sit disconnected from the engagement with the land. Although the dam and mill wheel in the background suggest that this may not be a "wilderness" scene, *Under the Falls, Catskill Mountains* (Figure 3.20) definitely captures the sense of wildness. Here, Homer provides the reader with an image of two strong confident women leaning on their hiking staffs proving their ability to handle the challenging climb. Thomas Cole argued that waterfalls in American scenery represent the balance in nature between the forces of stasis and change. For these women, clad in attire that spoke

[321] The belief in Mount Washington as the home to the worst weather in the world is often repeated throughout New England and refers specifically to the 231 mph wind speed recorded on the summit on April 12, 1934, the fastest ever recorded on the earth's surface.

to their bounded civilized roles, activity in the wilderness demonstrated the potential for different roles in the mountains.

Popular representations of outdoor recreation in newspapers had existed since before the Civil War and generally represented men and women together in the backcountry. *A Trip to the White Mountains* provides a humorous print and cartoon account of a White Mountain vacation in 1857. (Figure 3.21) After the war, the refocus on leisure led to more serious representations of wilderness adventures in places like New York's Adirondack Mountains. (Figure 3.22) Here, a group of men and women experience nature through dramatic scenery, interactions with wildlife, paddling and fishing. These adventurers find shelter in more rustic accommodations than the hotel guests of the White Mountains, choosing instead to camp in a roughhewn shelter, with fish cooking over an open fire. Granville Perkins returned the readers of *Harper's Weekly* to the White Mountain experience in 1877 through his *Reminiscences of the White Mountains*. (Figure 3.23) The woodcut serves as a montage of White Mountain experiences, from paddling on Echo Lake, to hiking through the Flume and the Old Man of the Mountains in Franconia Notch. A shadowy train of horses follows the Bridal Path through the clouds to the Tip Top House at the summit of Mount Washington at the very top edge of the picture. This imagery reproduced in the popular press, so consistent with the high art of the White Mountain landscape paintings, continued the definition of experiences and appropriate activities in the natural world, expanded to a much broader national audience.

The imagery of mountain tourism and recreational ideals was pervasive, extending from high art to framed parlor lithographs, from newspapers to popular gift books, and even on the plates and dishes of middle class homes. The visual mass production machine of Currier and Ives spread the imagery of activity in the wilderness, laced with the nostalgia that made such lithographs so popular. *Echo Lake – White Mountains* (Figure 3.24) closely resembles the work of Hill and others painting Franconia Notch. *The Notch House White Mountains* (Figure 3.25) brings together the ominous mountain that claimed the Willey family with the comfortable rural accommodations of the Notch House. This widespread distribution of imagery created a larger cultural experience of the wilderness, specifically identifying it with "American-ness" and defining what activities were appropriate in the mountains. This included fishing, hiking, paddling, horseback riding, nature study, and camping, which encompassed living in community, sleeping outside, and cooking over a fire.

The wilderness as portrayed in nineteenth century tourist imagery was not just for men, allowing opening space for women in even the most extreme environments. From the visual images, these ideals also became a physical reality through vacation experiences that were accessible to urban middle-class Americans. Maintaining a close connection with the natural world and a wilderness life was important for nineteenth-century adults. But the increasingly urban and industrialized nature of late nineteenth-century American life brought new attention to youth. As changes in the urban landscape made the city appear more wild than civil, parents and educators turned to their rural mountain experiences as a salvation for America's youth.

Converting Canvas to Campfire

To quote historian Eric Purchase, "the way to understand American landscape. . . is not through the particular image by which it is imagined, but in how those images are used."[322] As the outdoor education movement began to build momentum in the first years of the twentieth century, the founding educators turned to the imagery and activity that had been crafted in the White Mountains. This imagery was used for the promotional materials with the aim of drawing in potential campers and easing the concerns of parents. By relying on a familiar schema, outdoor educators were able to use landscapes to illustrate the positive, healthy, and virtuous nature of camps. Through post cards, handbooks, and camp advertising, outdoor educators drew upon the imagery of the mountains, trails, and waterways of rural New England to excite campers and parents about this new curriculum of outdoor education.

Sargent Camp, the summer program of Sargent College for Physical Education in Cambridge, Massachusetts was located on the shore of Half Moon Pond in the Monadnock Region of New Hampshire (See Chapter 8 for more on Sargent Camp). The visual power of the Monadnock landscape, a region immortalized in Emerson's poetry and popular throughout the nineteenth century as a tourist destination, had not dimmed by the turn of the century as shown in William Preston Phelps *Mount Monadnock* from 1900 (Figure 3.26). This imagery was also essential to the promotion and curriculum of Sargent Camp and reflected the landscape traditions that had taken root early in the nineteenth century. In the images created by the camp and utilized in brochures and post

[322] Purchase, 154.

cards, the mountain appeared either on its own (Figure 3.27) or looming above the camp's cabins and tents (Figure 3.28). More common in the Sargent Camp post cards are images of Half Moon Pond, a small quiet lake surrounded by primeval forest with the gentle slopes of Mount Skatutakee in the distance (Figure 3.29). *Drive along Half Moon Lake, Sargent Camp* (Figure 3.30) captures a calm day on the pond, with the trees reflecting off the water's surface and boats tied to the docks, suggesting the recreational opportunities the camp provided. These images, anchoring the physical location of the camp in the landscape imagery of the nineteenth century allowed parents to frame their children's summer education in terms that Cole and Hawthorne would have understood.

Comparing the imagery of the Sargent Camp promotional post cards with popular nineteenth-century landscapes and tourist art reveals a strong visual connection in composition and subject to nineteenth century visual culture showing how closely linked the early outdoor education movement was to the artistic traditions of the nineteenth century. The rustic trail at the center of *Road near Sargent School girls Camp, N.H.* (Figure 3.31) curves through the forest in a similar arc as Asher B. Durand's *The Beeches* (Figure 3.32) even passing identical twin white birch trees. The boats in *Sailing on Half Moon Lake, Boston University, Sargent Camp* (Figure 3.33) seem as sturdy and capable as the one gliding across Benjamin Champney's *Crawford Notch with Mount Webster, Elephant's Head and Saco Lake* (Figure 3.34). The roughhewn logs that shelter Sargent Campers and the prominence of a canoe in *The Boat House, Sargent Camp* (Figure 3.35) share the same essence as Currier and Ives' *The Hunter's Shanty in the Adirondacks* (Figure 3.36). In both the *Sargent Camp* (Girls Tent) post card (Figure 2.37) and

Winslow Homer's *Camping Out in the Adirondack Mountains* (Figure 3.38), two campers find shelter under a canvas and wooden structure, although the Sargent Girls look a bit more comfortable.

The use of post cards like those of Sargent Camp occupies a unique space in the construction of the early outdoor education movement.[323] The images themselves incorporated elements from nineteenth-century landscape and genre painting and illustrate the result of nearly a century of cultural evolution in the relationship between American youth and the American landscape. Created primarily for consumption by Sargent Girls themselves and their parents, these post cards negotiated a collective cultural meaning of outdoor education for the key stakeholders. The administration of the camp selected particular images, turning them into post cards that accurately represented the outcomes of an education in the outdoors. The campers purchased those post cards that best reflected their own personal experience and mailed them home to parents anxiously wondering if this new institution of "camp" would address the degrading influences of the city. These postcards linked the visions of children, parents, and educators around an ideal of a wilderness classroom. Part advertisement, part lesson plan, part souvenir, these images defined the outdoor education movement for generations to come.

[323] These particular images also had a greater reach than just the specific families who chose to send their girls to Sargent Camp. Because of the high profile of Dr. Sargent and the Sargent School, these images were also reprinted in texts such as Henry S. Curtis' 1915 book *Education through Play* as well as *The Playground: The World at Play*, the monthly publication of the Playground and Recreation Association of America. By being reproduced in textbooks and magazines that would be used by other camp directors and educators across the country, the images of the Sargent Girls modeled what camp life should look like to the first generation of summer campers.

Many of the images were also incorporated into the camp brochures, which included more specific detail regarding the curriculum, physical directions, required equipment, costs, and the registration form. The layout of these images and the associated descriptions of camp activities showed to parents a summer experience rooted in nineteenth century mountain tourism. The cover to the brochure for the 1921 season of Sargent Camp (Figure 3.39) highlights a wide open trail, leading to camp, but also the potential of adventure and growth. The 1923 brochure (Figure 3.40) not only incorporated images of hiking through the woods and boating on a lake, but also described the location as "ideally situated in the foothills of the White Mountains in southern New Hampshire" even though the Monadnock region is geographically separate from the White Mountains to the north. Entire pages of the brochure are dedicated to images of the camp's landscape, much like the gift books and souvenir view books of an earlier generation (Figure 3.41 and Figure 3.42).

The mountain tourist experience of the nineteenth century contributed more than just a scenic backdrop to the twentieth century outdoor education movement, it also framed the specific activities and the larger purposes for those activities. Nineteenth century mountain tourists were supposed to climb mountains, hike, ride horses on mountain trails, paddle and fish on mountain lakes, study the subtlety of the natural world, and camp out close to wilderness. The experience of camping, which blended together the activity of sleeping out, cooking meals over a fire, and living in community was the recreational equivalent of Cooper's Leatherstocking adventures or Hawthorne's

White Mountain tales, with travelers strengthening their social bond through commitment to each other as they faced the challenges of wilderness travel together.

Brantwood Camp, an Episcopalian affiliated camp serving urban youth, opened its doors in 1904. Also located in the Monadnock Region of New Hampshire, the camp's activities centered on hikes, field sports, first aid, and community building, but the peak experience of Brantwood was the Long Walk, a three day hike of 50 to 60 miles in the Peterboro Hills.[324] The Long Walk pulled together all of the various skills and abilities developed during the time spent at camp. Campers honed navigational and nature observational skills on shorter day hikes, developed their physical strength through sports, and demonstrated their commitment to their peers and community through camp duties and first aid training. Older boys would develop leadership skills on the "Boys Council" at camp, and then demonstrate their ability to lead while in the field on the Long Walk. These leadership responsibilities included route planning, managing logistics, motivating the younger campers, and tending to their physical and emotional needs, allowing them to shoulder the mantel of Ethan Allen Crawford or Natty Bumppo.

Long Walkers carried their gear in roll packs, two blankets and a poncho rolled tightly with towels, toilet articles, and other equipment. The ends were then tied and the camper would wear the whole kit over their shoulder.[325] Lunches containing ½ bar of chocolate, 1 jam sandwich and 1 veal loaf sandwich were wrapped in small bundles that

[324] Gardner Monks, *The Brantwood Bible: The Operation of Brantwood Camp*. (Unpublished director's manual, Peterborough Historical Society, 1923), 20.
[325] Monks, 16.

were then tied to their belts.[326] The Long Walkers followed many of the rural roads as well as trails, camping each night in the yards of community members. Most of their heavier supplies, including tents, firewood, shovels, pots, pans, and the food supply would be delivered by a supply truck each day.[327] Throughout the experience, the Long Walkers studied the plants and other nature signs and at the end of the day they would each sketch a map of their journey based on their memory, a skill that had been developed on their very first Brantwood hikes.

Central to the Long Walk experience was the interdependence of community. These trips were not about wilderness survival skills, but rather about developing responsibility, leadership, and trust within the camp and the larger community. Older campers would have learned the skills, but also developed the emotional and community building skills needed to lead peers and the younger campers. They were responsible for all of the logistical arrangements, so if a route was inappropriately long or if campers were poorly supplied, it was clear who was responsible. The campers also had to maintain strong positive relations with the members of the Monadnock communities when it came to camp sites. The camp's guide notes: "Natives are generally nice about letting people camp on their land, but summer visitors more particular. At any rate, permission must be obtained from the proper authorities."[328] The Brantwood Bible also notes the towns and specific people in the community who regularly bake cookies or

[326] Monks, 24.
[327] Monks, 78.
[328] Monks, 21.

other treats for passing groups of campers.[329] Through both planning and participating in the Long Walk, campers were exposed to the hospitality and respect paid by members of the rural communities. That "summer visitors", meaning city residents who then, and now, escaped the city and suburbs to live in a second home in the mountains, were less cordial to campers may have been rooted in practical experience and the cultural stereotype that considered rural Americans more virtuous than their city cousins. Regardless, the experience and close contact with the people of the Monadnocks carried with it lessons of responsibility and commitment to community. If the campers did not clean up their campsites, or if they acted inappropriately toward their hosts, then they would no longer be able to camp at that site. This was a powerful lesson lost on youths at wealthier camps, whose programs were carried out within their own campus boundaries.

Back at Sargent Camp, the Sargent Girls were actively engaged in similar activities. The peak experience that linked them with the mountain was their Monadnock hike, captured in the early post card titled *Hiking* (Figure 3.43). Like the Brantwood Boys, they carried their equipment in roll packs and set out beyond the camp borders to summit the region's namesake. The older girls departed from camp on their ten mile hike, camping on the shore of Thorndike Pond and then returning the next day. But most importantly, after the sun set they would light a fire on the mountain, signaling the campers on the shores of Halfmoon Pond of their success and linking the two groups of girls in a visual union that incorporated the mountain and lake elements of nature as well as generations of the camp community.

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[329] Monks, 30.

Campers at Sargent Camp enjoyed horseback riding (Figure 3.44) as much as tourists on the Bridal Path of Mount Washington. Riding became more prominently identified with Sargent Camp over the years. Although it was always heavily represented in the promotional materials, the 1927, 1929, and 1932 brochures all placed horseback riding on the cover (Fig. 3.45, 3.46, and 3.47). The 1932 brochure also dedicated a significant portion of its opening page layout to horseback riding, with an exciting scene of Sargent Girls charging down the camp road, past cabins, with dust kicking up into the air. Another full page was dedicated to images of riders, as well as the picturesque landscape that served as the potential playground for campers (Figure 3.49)

Canoeing was a core element of outdoor education that connected campers to the Colean reflective power of water while also harkening back to the adventure of Cooper's Leatherstocking Tales. At Sargent Camp, images of the Sargent Girls paddling were common. The promotional brochures included images of both the flotilla of boats on the beach as well as the picturesque experience of two campers working together on the water (Figure 3.50). Canoes were a practical addition to an outdoor education curriculum. Inexpensive to maintain and repair, canoes were a hardy choice for outdoor educators often running programs on shoe string budgets. The vessels also could carry significant amounts of rations and equipment in relation to the size of their young paddlers. This removed the need for supply trucks like those used by Brantwood and allowed the campers to be more self-sufficient on multi day journeys (Figure 3.51). But that self-sufficiency was based on the development of inter-camper relationships. In addition to the larger logistical and leadership roles needed for a paddling trip, the central

relationship that canoeing develops is between the paddlers in the same canoe. Each must learn to balance their own strokes with those of their partner, matching speed, strength, and skill in order to effectively maneuver the craft. Basic canoe skills can be learned in an afternoon, but advanced skills can take years to develop. From a curricular standpoint, this allows campers of various skill levels to be quickly empowered, while also holding their attention for years. The concept of empowerment in a canoe cannot be overestimated. Paddlers are able to cross big lakes and shallow swamps, white water rapids and calm still coves, they can easily be slid over beaver dams and portaged over land without the need for additional vehicles. No other water craft is as versatile and designed for the development of rugged communalism.

The Camp Fire Girls, a national organization founded by Luther Gulick two years before Sargent Camp, embraced Native American themes and imagery as core elements of their curriculum so canoeing held an even greater level of importance in their programs. The confidence that paddling was intended to develop was illustrated in the photos reproduced in the program's manual, *The Book of the Camp Fire Girls* (Figure 3.52) including the caption that reads: "This girl is having intense pleasure sitting in an Indian birchbark canoe. She knows she is master."[330] The Camp Fire Girls promoted canoes because they provided access to adventure and teamwork that were difficult to grasp on land (Figure 3.53). Canoeing also provided an opportunity for creativity and the development of woodworking skills by carving or decorating their own paddles (Figure 3.54). Ceremonial paddles, rich with coded imagery that referenced camp experiences,

[330] *The Book of The Camp Fire Girls.* (New York: Wm. F. Fell Co. Printers, Philadelphia, 1912), 100.

provided campers with a souvenir that was a direct physical tie to the confidence they had built in themselves and their community while at camp. It provided a powerful tool that would drive them forward into the uncharted waters of their future.

The educative value of the White Mountains sprang from the Romantic perceptions of the relationship between humanity and wilderness in these Crystal Hills of New England. The Crawford House became a popular destination for adventurous teachers seeking a powerful learning experience for students. Captain Partridge from Norwich Academy in Vermont started bringing his cadets to the Notch in the 1820s, as did students from the Columbian Academy and later Dartmouth College, Harvard and other gems in the American collegiate system.[331] In doing so, they demonstrated the first adventure education programs in American higher education.

The co-evolution of White Mountain tourism, landscape art, and outdoor education were bound together by the sentiment of Romanticism. In effect, the birth of the twentieth century outdoor education movement was an expression of a pedagogy of Romanticism that looked to visual culture for purpose and direction. Outdoor educators selected activities based on nineteenth century tourist and recreational ideals, they promoted camps based on similar visual schema, and they saw a moral value in wilderness that had been absent from the ideals of the Enlightenment. Rather than a neat and orderly humanism in the natural world, Romantics found the sublime, an element

[331] Crawford, 69-72.

which lifted the mountain classroom closer to the divine even as it raised the existential risks to the students. This tension created by the sublime continued to be important throughout the twentieth century outdoor education movement, and was never so eloquently expressed as through the life and words of Willi Unsoeld. Unsoeld, a philosophy professor at Evergreen State University, member of the first American mountaineering team on Everest, and one of the most influential early leaders in Outward Bound in the 1960's, often refered to German theologian Rudolph Otto's concept of *mysterium tremendum et fascinans*, the mysterious element that is the core of all religion and which made individuals both terrified and fascinated.[332] Unsoeld's description of this element echoes with the sounds of a landslide in Crawford Notch and the sublime wilderness described by Thomas Cole and Nathaniel Hawthorne.

> Angst, existential fear, fear of radical dissolution. . . to be nullified by sheer overpoweringness. How many people ever feel this today? It's gone out of our life today and also out of the churches [because] the sacred has something forbidding about it, something of the ghastly. It isn't very fun, you know. . . and it comes dangerously close to the graveyard.
>
> You don't measure yourself against the sacred. You don't because there are *just no calibrations small enough to notice you*. . . against it we're completely insignificant. And I found this quality . . . only in the mountains. . . keyed to the presence of physical risk. In the Outward Bound programs parents would ask us, 'Can you guarantee the safety of our Johnny?' And our response would usually be, 'No, we certainly *can't*, ma'am. Fact is, we go the other way and guarantee you the *genuine possibility of his death.* And if we *could* guarantee his safety, the program wouldn't be worth running – d'you see?[333]

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[332] Rudolf Otto. *The Idea of the Holy.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958. Originally published 1923).

[333] Robert Roper. *Fatal Mountaineer: The High-Altitude Life and Death of Willi Unsoeld, American Himalayan Legend.* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2002), 44-45.

For outdoor education, from its roots in nineteenth century Romanticism throughout its popularity in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the paradox of the sublime in the curriculum is both its greatest threat and its greatest attraction, inspiring generations of students to sling a pack on their backs, grab a canoe paddle, and head into the wild.

Chapter 4: Making Barefoot Boys from Street Urchins

Under the ideology of Calvinist Puritan New England, Christian civilization stood out as the only path to salvation for humanity, born into sin and surrounded by a wilderness that was the dominion of Satan. Just as the wilderness needed to be broken, forests cleared, and the land transformed by human labor, so too did children need to be broken and transformed by their elders. But during the nineteenth century, both of these positions reversed. Just as the wilderness was revalued as an expression of creation rather than damnation, children were seen to be more innocent than corrupted at birth. This shift led to the evolution of a pedagogy more focused on the internal development of the child, a process of drawing forth the child's natural genius rather than imposing external lessons. The curriculum of outdoor education rested on ideas that came from this transformation: 1) that rural environments were naturally conducive to healthy youth development and 2) that children were inherently innocent and corrupted only through interactions with an unhealthy environment. This emerging ideology had broad appeal, as demonstrated by the popularity of various images in genre paintings and juvenile literature, and the early experiments in juvenile reform programs. At the beginning of the twentieth century, outdoor education programs drew on these tropes for their marketing and adopted the transformational experience of Street Arab to Barefoot Boy as an experiential model for societal reform.

Rapid industrialization, urbanization, and immigration transformed America in the nineteenth century, creating anxieties and causing Americans to question the future of

their republic. As a response, many sought to promote and maintain the rural values that seemed vital in the early years of the nation. Perceiving the eastern cities as foreign, congested, and polluted, both physically and morally, Americans turned to more agrarian imagery as an attractive distraction, reinforcing a nostalgic national self-image. Through images of children, artists and authors constructed an ideal of innocence grounded in a close relationship with nature. Proponents believed that this apparently more natural lifestyle resulted in a youthful energy and strength that seemed in short supply on America's city streets. As outdoor programs took shape in the early twentieth century, they drew heavily upon this imagery, providing experiential opportunities for youth to live out these literary and artistic tropes.

Actual life in nineteenth-century New England differed from the middle class fantasies inspired by summer vacations and mass produced nostalgia. But painters seeking to make a living with their brush profited more from capturing the rural ideals rather than the harsh and real conditions of urban poverty.[334] The imagery of healthy American youths actively playing in the outdoors appealed to urban patrons trying to ignore the reality outside their windows.[335] Genre paintings, one of the most popular styles in the nineteenth century, often focused on these idealized youth. By representing what was assumed to be everyday life in the countryside, genre painting captured the rustic, humorous, and sentimental aspects of America thereby normalizing them for the culture at large. By illustrating this ideal of what American life could be under the best

[334] Patricia Hills, *The Painter's America: Rural and Urban Life, 1810-1910* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974), 75-80.
[335] Sarah Burns, *Pastoral Inventions: Rural Life in 19th Century American Art and Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), 297.

conditions, genre paintings suggested what life should be in all areas.[336] The 1870's saw a rise in the mass production and distribution of poetry, stories, magazines, paintings, prints, illustrations, and juvenile novels influenced by genre painting and a depiction of rural childhood as a magical state.[337] As middle class urbanites reached consensus on what youth should look like, pedagogical methods also emerged providing a route for this ideal to become a reality.

Ralph Waldo Emerson was one of the many leading intellectuals who idealized the rural life and its impact on youth development. Emerson himself had cast aside the city life of Boston by retreating to the farming community of Concord and in his 1841 essay, *Self-Reliance*, he described the resilient and resourceful character of country youth, contrasting them to those raised in the city.

> If the finest genius studies at one of our colleges and is not installed in an office within one year afterwards in the cities or suburbs of Boston or New York, it seems to his friends and to himself that he is right in being disheartened and in complaining the rest of his life. A sturdy lad from New Hampshire or Vermont, who in turn tries all the professions, who *teams it, farms it, peddles,* keeps a school, preaches, edits a newspaper, goes to Congress, buys a township, and so forth, in successive years, and always like a cat falls on his feet, is worth a hundred of these city dolls. He walks abreast with his days and feels no shame in not 'studying a profession,' for he does not postpone his life, but lives already. He has not one chance, but a hundred chances.[338]

All of the values of the American republic are personified in this "sturdy lad from New Hampshire or Vermont." He can work with livestock and raise crops, he is intelligent,

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[336] Herman Warner Williams, Jr, *Mirror to the American Past: A Survey of American Genre Painting: 1750-1900* (Greenwich, CT: New York Geographical Society, 1973).
[337] Burns, 300.
[338] Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Self-Reliance" in Brooks Atkinson, ed. *The Essential Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson.* (New York: The Modern Library, 2000), 147.

well spoken, can succeed in capitalism, enjoy the freedom of the press, and participate in representative democracy. This character did not stem from any type of formal education, but rather from a youth spent in mountains of New England. Without that connection to the land, he would be left a whining failure in the city, and the hopes for America would be lost.

Louisa May Alcott, the most popular children's writer of the nineteenth century, drew heavily upon these ideals for many of her works including *Little Women* (1868 and 1869). In this autobiographic novel, Alcott drew from her childhood in Concord, while infusing the narrative with the imagery of *Pilgrim's Progress.* For the March sisters, the richness of youth was spent hiking and tramping across the countryside, picnicking, writing poetry, and painting landscapes.[339] This association of rural ideals and youth development reaches its peak in the closing chapter of *Little Women*, when Jo and Fritz decide to open a school in their home, bringing together rich and poor children, or what she called "a wilderness of boys."[340] (See Chapter 5: Transcendental Pedagogy)

Lucy Larcom was another children's author who drew on the perception of the idealized rural childhood in her work. Poetess and former "Mill Girl" in Lowell, Larcom's affinity for the rural landscape of New England was so strong throughout her life that it led to the rechristening of one of New Hampshire's Ossippee Mountains as

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[339] See Chapter 12: Camp Laurence and Chapter 13: Castles in the Air for particular examples, including references to Boston as the Celestial City. Louisa May Alcott, *Little Women*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998. Originally published 1868 and 1869).

[340] Alcott, *Little Women*, 465. This Transcendental pedagogy is more fully articulated in the sequels to *Little Women* as Plumfield becomes a reality for Jo and Fritz. It is also dealt with in much more depth in the following chapter.

Larcom Mountain. In *A New England Girlhood*, an autobiography specifically targeted for a young readership, Larcom reminisced about cooking on open fires and roaming the hillsides near her home, a landscape "well-nigh boundless in its capacities for juvenile occupation."[341] For the young poetess, the fields and forests near her home allowed her the opportunity to find adventure and a sense of discovery. This sense of adventure was reinforced by the sailors she met in her home town of Beverly, Massachusetts, but it was also framed by her favorite childhood book, *A Pilgrim's Progress*. For her the idea of a pilgrimage, a long walk, like that taken by Christian and Christiana created the archetype of an adventure experience.[342]

The close connection to nature was central to Larcom's perception of childhood, regardless of the environment. Larcom reminisced: "My sturdy little feet felt the solid earth beneath them. I grew with the sprouting grass, and enjoyed my life as the buds and birds seemed to enjoy theirs."[343] This strong connection between children and the natural world was so important that even when she and her family moved to the industrial center of Lowell, nature still played a dominant role in her mind. "We were children still, whether at school or at work, and Nature still held us close to her motherly heart. Nature came very close to the mill-gates, too, in those days."[344] The grasses and flowers that grew near the mill reminded her of Nature and the Merrimack River "was like the continuation of a dream," a river born in the clouds and descended from the mountains,

[341] Lucy Larcom, *A New England Girlhood*. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Company, 1889), 30.
[342] Larcom, 101.
[343] Larcom, 48.
[344] Larcom, 163.

like those in *A Pilgrim's Progress* or the Book of Revelations.[345] Her adolescence was tightly woven around the imagery of the natural world. She saw the loss of her relationship with nature as a sign of adulthood, lamenting: "the transition from childhood to girlhood, when a little girl has had an almost unlimited freedom of out-of-door life, is practically the toning down of a mild sort of barbarism. . . I clung to the child's inalienable privilege of running half wild; and when I found that I really was growing up, I felt quite rebellious."[346]

When the Larcom family moved to Lowell, Lucy's mother opened a boarding house and the young poetess closely socialized with women who had come down from the mountain farms of Vermont and New Hampshire to work in the mills. Although Larcom recognized the impact of the natural world on her own development, she saw those raised in more rural settings of New England as being distinctly different, "almost like a different race of beings from any we children had hitherto known."[347] To her, these women were "earnest and capable; ready to undertake anything that was worth doing. My dreamy, indolent nature was shamed into activity among them. They gave me a larger, firmer ideal of womanhood."[348] Larcom felt their character was a result of their direct and close relationship with the sublime powers of nature, observing "to have mountain-summits looking down upon one out of the clouds, summer and winter, by day and by night, seemed to me something both delightful and terrible."[349] For Larcom, as for

[345] Larcom, 162.
[346] Larcom, 166.
[347] Larcom, 152.
[348] Larcom, 196.
[349] Larcom, 186.

Emerson and many other Americans, a life close to the mountains was stronger and healthier than one in the city. The challenge for middle class urban parents was to find opportunities to create experiences for their children that would expose them to those natural forces and reap the rewards of moral development. In the absence of summer camp programs, these children would learn about the importance of connecting to nature through the pages of juvenile literature.

Daring Adventures in Tangled Woods

Through much of his work, Nathaniel Hawthorne commented on the difference between country and city life, as well as the corresponding impact on child development. In both "The Gentle Boy" (1831) and "My Kinsman, Major Molineux" (1832), the honest and compassionate values of rustic life are held in sharp contrast to the violence and intolerance of the city. The fertile ground of the country builds strong, honest people, while the dark barren city corrupts its residents leaving them wicked and hypocritical. The alienation and inhumanity of the city surfaces again in his novels as well as his children's stories, communicating a message of urban inferiority directly through his representation of children.

Although largely known for his adult stories and novels, Nathaniel Hawthorne was a popular writer of children's stories as well. Leading figures in Boston's reform movement such as Thomas Wentworth Higginson recalled having Hawthorne's tales read to him as a small child.[350] His first foray into children's literature was *Grandfather's Chair*, originally released in three parts in 1841 and then compiled into *The Whole*

[350] Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Cheerful Yesterdays*. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, 1898), 12.

History of Grandfather's Chair in 1850. The story follows an old man as he tells his grandchildren the history of an old oak arm chair that had been in New England since the Puritan days. With the chair as the focal point of the narrative, the grandfather tells his children, and Hawthorne's young readers, all about the history of New England from Lady Arbella to Roger Williams to Anne Hutchinson and so on through to the Revolution. In the fire lit romance of the old man's stories, the children learned geography and history, as legends were woven into the physical description of the land and the violent history of early New England. As Grandfather's tales reach the Revolutionary Period, he and his listeners leave the chair and visit the site of the Boston Massacre and Bunker Hill in order to physically connect them to the landscape. [351] In *Grandfather's Chair*, Hawthorne used history to immerse his readers in a more rustic and virtuous alternative to the emerging urban landscape. For the *Wonder Book* and the *Tanglewood Tales* he extended the moral narrative into a classical realm, yet one that was still grounded in the New England landscape, framing ancient mythology with adventures and storytelling in the picturesque Berkshires of western Massachusetts.

Hawthorne's Berkshire storyteller was an 18 year old Williams College student named Eustace Bright. Unlike the typical Yankee scholar, Eustace was active and outdoorsy and his affiliation with Williams College, located deep in the Berkshires at the base of Mount Greylock, stood in stark contrast to those educated in the urban streets of

[351] Nathaniel Hawthorne. *The Whole History of Grandfathers Chair.* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1887. Originally released in three parts in 1841, and published in one book in 1850).

Cambridge.[352] Eustace spent his summer tramping, frolicking, and picnicking across the Berkshire landscape with a group of children, enthralling them with his retelling of classical mythology while resting in the shadow of the trees or around a fire. His selections spoke to virtues of rustic life and youth embodied by the children during their summer in the mountains of New England. The Midas story, which Hawthorne calls "The Golden Touch," was a strong rebuke of unchecked urban capitalism. "The Miraculous Pitcher," a retelling of Philemon and Boucis, captured the virtues of simple devotion, character and hospitality, juxtaposing the sinfulness of the town with the purity of the natural world. Hawthorne's storyteller actively connects the children to the landscape physically and mentally. After leading his young companions to the summit of a small hill, the children sat in awe of a view shed that included Monument Mountain and the Taconic Range. Eustace directed their attention to the Catskills in the distance, reminding them of Irving's tale of Rip Van Winkle.[353] He then told the story of Bellerophon, a tale of adventure and excitement mirroring that of this young band in the Berkshires. Throughout the *Wonder Book* and its sequel the *Tanglewood Tales*, Eustace modeled the ideal camp counselor of later years, an older young person who frames learning with narratives and exciting outdoor experiences, the romance of the stories heightened by the close associations of the story, storyteller, and the landscape.

The muses of inspiration and virtue resided in Hawthorne's New England landscape and could be found by merely taking a walk in the woods and enjoying the

[352] Nathaniel Hawthorne, *A Wonder Book for Girls and Boys and Tanglewood Tales*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1900. Originally printed 1852 and 1853), 3-4.
[353] Hawthorne, *A Wonder Book for Girls and Boys and Tanglewood Tales*, 192.

divinely created forests of the Berkshires one could reconnect with Mount Olympus. While reflecting on the Bellerophon legend, Eustace noted the other writers and artists who were tending their craft in the Berkshires: "On the hither side of Pittsfield sits Herman Melville, shaping out the gigantic conception of his White Whale, while the gigantic shape of Graylock looms upon him from his study window."[354] Unlike *Grandfather's Chair* which posited virtue and heroism in a distant but tangible past, the children in *A Wonder Book* and *Tanglewood Tales* lived in Hawthorne's present, vacationing in the rural landscape of New England, and developing themselves and their character through intentionally constructed and framed experiences.

For early twentieth century outdoor educators, the image of the rural youth provided an essential role model for an urban children. By drawing from the virtues of this rural ideal and placing them in opposition to urban vices, educators sought to preserve the values considered essential when America had been a more agrarian and rural landscape, where a commitment to others existed in parallel to a close connection to the land, i.e. rugged communalism. If America's future was going to be bright, American youth would need to maintain their contact with the earth, to literally feel the grass between their toes, walking barefoot to ensure that their soles did not destroy their souls.

[354] Hawthorne, *A Wonder Book for Girls and Boys and Tanglewood Tales*, 229-230.

Barefoot Utopia

The ideal youth was barefoot.[355] In countless printed and painted images, children played, ran, and lived a rich life with bare feet, battered hats, and rolled up pants.[356] Although the image of the barefoot boy emerged before the Civil War, this positive smiling child persisted into the Gilded Age era and represented a youthful connection to the land and served to heal a post-war America suffering the psychological damage of civil conflict. The decades-long multimedia dominance of the barefoot boy illustrates how deeply this image resonated in late nineteenth century American culture.[357] Possibly the greatest example of this broadly popular fusion of media images was the linkage between Eastman Johnson's 1860 painting *Barefoot Boy* (Figure 4.1) and John Greenleaf Whittier's 1855 poem of the same name. The painting was commissioned to model a woodcut illustration for Whittier's poem in John Williamson Palmer's 1860 popular gift book *Folk Songs* (Figure 4.2). In 1867, the image was converted into a chromolithograph by Louis Prang, who sold thousands of copies at five dollars apiece. Marketed as "Whittier's Barefoot Boy," the image became the most popular chromolithograph in Prang's catalog.[358] The popular Whittier poem that inspired so much imagery was a highly descriptive illustration of the joyful virtues of child's play contrasted with the longings of a middle aged man offering advice to the boy and his readers. The narrator identifies the wealth of the boy as his relation to the natural world,

[355] It is a delicious irony that the Barefoot Boy was a central image in the birth of the outdoor education movement, but that in 21st century outdoor education, risk management concerns have developed a near universal obsession about campers always wearing closed toed shoes.
[356] Burns, 305.
[357] Sarah Burns, "Barefoot Boys and Other Country Children: Sentiment and Ideology in Nineteenth-Century American Art", *American Art Journal* 20 (1988): pp. 24-50.
[358] Michael Clapper, "I Was Once a Barefoot Boy!": Cultural Tensions in a Popular Chromo," *American Art* 16 (Summer 2002): pp. 16-39.

a relationship which grants health and wisdom. The description of the lessons learned from nature form a curriculum of outdoor education that could only be learned from direct personal experience.

O for boyhood's painless play,
Sleep that wakes in laughing day,
Health that Mocks the doctor's rules,
Knowledge never learned of schools:
Of the wild bee's morning chase,
Of the wild flower's time and place,
Flight of fowl, and habitude
Of the tenants of the wood;
How the tortoise bears his shell,
How the woodchuck digs his cell,
And the ground-mole sinks his well;
How the robin feeds her young,
How the oriole's nest is hung;
Where the whitest lilies blow,
Where the freshest berries grow,
Where the ground-nut trails its vine,
Where the wood-grape's clusters shine;
Of the black wasp's cunning way,
Mason of his walls of clay,
And the architectural plans
Of gray hornet artisans!
For, eschewing books and tasks,

Nature answers all he asks;
Hand in hand with her he walks,
Face to face with her he talks,
Part and parcel of her joy.
Blessings on the barefoot boy![359]

The lessons of the natural world taught the child how to work hard and develop the skills of an architect and artist, without the need of a written book or classroom structure. The narrator lamented that as time passed the joy of a natural life was replaced by a much lesser material wealth requiring ceaseless work and symbolized by the requirement of wearing shoes.

All too soon these feet must hide
In the prison-cells of pride,
Lose the freedom of the sod,
Like a colt's for work be shod,
Made to tread the mills of toil,
Up and down in ceaseless moil:
Happy if they sink not in
Quick and treacherous sands of sin.
Ah! that thou couldst know thy joy,
Ere it passes, barefoot boy![360]

[359] John Greenleaf Whittier, "Barefoot Boy" in John Williamson Palmer, *Folk Songs* (New York: Riverside Press, 1860), 387-388.
[360] Ibid., 389-390.

This longing and admonition calls to the youth to enjoy the moment, but it was also a call to parents and educators, reminding them of their past and of their responsibility to provide these experiences with nature for their children, children who were growing up in rapidly urbanizing landscapes.

The cultural traction of the Johnson-Whittier Barefoot Boy image extended to numerous other artists, thereby reaching broader audiences. The children in Winslow Homer's *Boys in a Pasture* (Figure 4.3) are relaxed, strong and confident in their natural setting. To art historian Sarah Burns, their lack of shoes does not translate to a "bumpkin unrefinement" but rather suggests their "enviable primitivism and unity with Mother Earth."[361] Eastman Johnson's *The Old Stagecoach* collects twenty such barefoot children immersed in imaginative play with a derelict stagecoach, itself a symbol of nostalgia in an era rapidly overtaken by the railroad. John George Brown, whose numerous popular images of urban children earned him the nickname of the "Bootblack Raphael," was not immune to this demand for rural boy imagery.[362] In his *The Berry Boy* (Figure 4.5) and *Blackberry Picking* (Figure 4.6), berry picking connects the rural child with a core skill set essential to the survival of hunter-gatherer societies. From the perspective of middle class urbanites, youths picking berries was an activity that maintained a close link to nature, earth, and their ancient human identity. But this perception also illustrates how distant these urbanites were from rural life.

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[361] Burns, 306.
[362] Kathleen S. Placidi, "Beyond Bootblacks: "The Boat Builder" and the Art of John George Brown" *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*. 77 (Dec., 1990): 366.

The ideals presented in landscape and genre paintings as well as the mountain resorts were constructions of the urban middle class elites, and not directly connected to the actual communities that surrounded those retreats. John Stilgoe observed that as elites began to "summer" in rural areas, they actually began to retool the landscape by only hiring and associating with community members who fit their ideal stereotype of rural virtue, pushing out those they considered undesirable.[363] Homer's woodcut *On the Road to Lake George* (Figure 4.7) shows this differentiation of class and culture by switching perspective from the elites of the city to the youth of the country. The well-dressed tourists riding atop the coach, protected from the sun by umbrellas and enjoying the country air display an obvious excitement in seeing the children. The little scamps, picking berries in their rustic clothing, fit the expected image. But the children do not share the tourists' excitement in the rural ideal. The young girl waves, but with little enthusiasm, her actions likely motivated primarily by courtesy. The two boys don't physically acknowledge the visitors, standing stoic as the coach passes. The pails in their hands and the low brush blueberries at their feet suggest they are berry picking, but this is probably their chore for the day, not some type of recreation meant to increase their vitality or make them fit into Whittier's ideal. The challenging realities of mountain life required the collaboration of all members of the family. The high caloric low bush blueberries could be easily canned into preserves that would last through a harsh mountain winter. These children were likely thinking less about their great fortune in

[363] Stilgoe, 331.

being able to live a purely American childhood, than they were about the dust they would soon be breathing from the coach of the passing city-folk.

Representations of the rural ideal were not limited to paint and pencil. The sculptures of John Rogers' were also designed to meet the broad appeal of the mass market, rather than aspiring to the patronage of the elites. Art historian Michael Clapper has compared Rogers to Norman Rockwell, with both artists creating an ideal world whose believability rested on its closeness to everyday life.[364] In *We Boys* (Figure 4.8), two barefoot boys innocently try to ride a slightly agitated horse. The pile of soil and the tree stump in the background work to link these boys with the earth, even as they attempt to rise above it. Because of the opportunity to play and live close to the land, these boys develop skills that children in the crowded cities could not. In *Fetching the Doctor* (Figure 4.9), the heroic role of the barefoot country boy highlights the incompetence of the educated doctor in spite of his elder's years of formal training. The boy, grounded in experience and a closer relationship with the physical elements of nature, holds the reigns and sits squarely on the horse's back. The doctor, precariously rising up off the back of the horse, with medicine bottles and hat nearly falling off, depends upon the boy's strength and skill to transport him safely to the patient.

Winslow Homer's *Snap the Whip* (Figure 4.10) presents the classic expression of idealized nineteenth century rural youth. Abigail Van Slyck explains: "Although they are neither neat nor clean, they are healthy and their play is innocent – that is, joyful,

[364] Michael Clapper, "Imagining the Ordinary: John Rogers's Anticlassical Genre Sculptures as Purposely Popular Art," *Winterthur Portfolio* 43 (Spring 2009): 38.

spontaneous, and not dependent on consumer goods."[365] In this she describes the mood that artists like Homer sought to create with these images and which educators hoped to create with the camp movement. The school house in the background, linked with the youthful idealism of the children, shows the barefoot boy as the product of an outdoor pedagogy, a pedagogy that required students to break free from the limitations of the indoor classroom.

The persistent power of the Barefoot Boy image lasted for decades and as the outdoor education movement took shape in the beginning of the twentieth century, camp directors drew on these nostalgic images to reinforce the health and vitality that spring forth when children were barefoot in the woods. As Eastman Johnson's *The Old Stagecoach* (Figure 4.4), John George Brown's *Blackberry Picking* (Figure 4.6), and Winslow Homer's *On the Road to Lake George* (Figure 4.7) illustrate, the barefoot imagery was not reserved for boys only. Coed groups and barefoot girls were represented in very similar was to boys, suggesting that the connection of the natural world with the bare foot of a child was not a gender exclusive experience. At Sargent Camp, the promotional material clearly and directly connected this image of the Barefoot Boy with the Sargent Girls. The 1921 camp brochure included enthusiastic girls running from their cabins at the dinner bell (Figure 4.11) with the energy and exuberance of Homer's *Snap the Whip*. Layouts connecting berry picking with smiling children in the woods were reused with minor changes through numerous years of brochures, including layouts that frame the imagery with nature poetry much like the gift books of the

[365]Van Slyck, xxi.

nineteenth century. (Figure 4.12) For the campers captured in the *Wood Working* post card from 1916 (Figure 4.13), life at camp was barefoot and close to nature, where the tactile, physical relationship with the natural world translated to a level of focus and industry maintaining the children's attention and directed it in productive ways. This particular classroom, outside and in the open air, with pillars still bearing tree bark, provided the ideal opportunity for these urban and suburban youth to connect with how childhood *should* be.

Street Urchins

If the Barefoot Boy represented the idealized version of what a child's life *should* be, his urban counterpart served as a cautionary tale of what could happen to society if a child's needs were not met. Referred to by such names as *Street Urchins*, *Street Arabs*, or *Young Vagabonds*, the urban youth of the nineteenth century illustrated the social consequences of a misdirected youth and the threat to democracy they posed. Making a living as newsboys, bootblacks, pickpockets, and criminals, these roving gangs of homeless boys personified the social issues created by urbanization and immigration in nineteenth century American cities. But if they foretold the downfall of the Republic, they also represented the potential of education as social reform. By providing these unfortunate children with the right experiences in the right environments, not only would their lives be saved, but so would American civilization.

The immigration that flooded American cities in the mid-nineteenth century resulted in large populations of children roaming the streets, causing middle-class urbanites to assume these children would cause trouble. B. K. Peirce, author of *A Half*

Century with Juvenile Delinquents which chronicled the work of New York's House of Refuge, described the condition:

> The immense importation of poorer and lower classes of Europe, the most destitute portion of which lingers in our Eastern cities, greatly increases the statistics of exposed and criminal children. Poor blood, low moral culture, the pinch of poverty, the habit of indulgence, predispose this class to early crime.[366]

The actions of Peirce and others revealed a distinct difference between the nineteenth century educators and those of Cotton Mather's world. The Puritans considered all children inherently evil and in need of the moral education in a civilized environment of church and family in order to rise above their natural selves. Two hundred years later, American reformers saw the environment created by civilization as corrupting the natural goodness of youth. Corruption was not due to original sin, but rather to the sins of the parents and the urban environment. Although "poor blood" was considered a contributing factor, social and environmental elements were as important. These non-racial causes could be addressed by a reform minded American public in order to decrease crime and improve the quality of life in growing cities. Peirce saw social opportunity in addressing these issues:

> The children of neglectful, intemperate, vicious parents, and those who are trained to sin, could be *saved from prison* even though they may have been guilty of actual crime. . . . The parents of these children are, in all probability, too poor or too degenerate to provide them with clothing fit for them to be seen in school, and know not where to place them in order that they may find employment, or be better cared for. Accustomed, in many instances, to witness at home nothing in the way of example but what is degraded; early taught to observe intemperance, and to hear

[366] B. K. Peirce, *A Half Century with Juvenile Delinquents.* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1869), 249-250.

> obscene and profane language without disgust; obliged to beg, and even encouraged to acts of dishonesty, to satisfy the wants induced by the indolence of their parents, -- which can be expected but that such children will, in due time, become responsible to the law for crimes which have thus in a manner been forced upon them?[367]

This shift of responsibility revealed the core belief in the ideology of the Barefoot Boy: that children were inherently good, but this goodness needed a positive healthy environment in order to flourish. Without that environment, children were condemned to a life of crime and sin.

Evidence of this life of crime and sin was rampant in Boston, New York, Pittsburgh, and most other American cities by the 1850s. In addition to newspapers and popular fiction, the Street Urchin archetype appeared as a popular trope in genre painting, specifically the work of David Gilmour Blythe and John George Brown. Blythe, who was active in the mid-nineteenth century, presented dark, ugly, and almost monstrous children engaged in adult vices on the streets. Brown's work addressed the same types of children, but with a much more sentimental tone and visual realism. Brown's street children bore the marks of poor parenting and the troubled urban environment, but revealed an innocence and purity that signaled a shift in perspective regarding youth. Although they were poor, ragged, and forced to work for survival, they had a playful and noble persona suggesting all they needed was a change of environment in order to reform themselves and embrace the American Dream.

[367] Pierce, 55.

Although his work is most often associated with Pittsburgh, David Gilmour Blythe had traveled to most of the eastern American cities while serving in the Navy.[368] As a sailor instead of a well-to-do artist, his time in the service was spent more in the taverns and streets than the wealthy homes and circles of cosmopolitan artists. Primarily self-taught, Blythe was familiar with the urban problems in the United States before settling in Pittsburgh in 1856, where he lived and worked until his death in 1865 at the age of fifty.[369] Because of his travels and his connection to the streets, he understood the issues of urban America and captured those urban conditions with a sharp wit that made him an exceptional genre painter.

Blythe's *The Newsboys* (Figure 4.14) is typical of his urban vagrants. Two boys dressed in torn and ragged clothes are intensely negotiating, one pointing to the text of the paper while the taller child holds a handful of coins and smokes a shabbily hand rolled cigar. There is nothing playful or innocent about these children. Their conversation may be about gambling or possibly their business as newsboys, but one thing is clear, they are not children at play, but rather sinful adults, made all the more grotesque by their childlike bodies. In *Street Urchins* (Figure 4.15), Blythe shows street children at play. Most of the children are smoking, either lighting cigars for each other or using them to set off a small toy cannon. That they are all crouched down behind a barrel suggests a covert prank. Hidden in the shadows, they embrace vice and arm themselves against the unsuspecting public on the other end of that barrel. This was the great fear

[368] Dorothy Miller, *The Life and Work of David G. Blythe*. (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: The University of Pittsburg Press, 1950), 8-12.
[369] Miller, 39-40.

associated with Street Urchins, that these corrupt and criminal children would grow up to become violent adult criminals whose actions would make the streets more dangerous and whose votes would support political corruption.[370] With their predisposition toward vice, these children would be holding the moral and responsible people of America hostage and the fragile American experiment in democracy would collapse.

Painted in the last year of his life, Blythe's *Post Office* (Figure 4.16) provides a social critique that reinforces Peirce's accusations of adult responsibility as the primary factor in shaping the poor character of the Street Urchins. In this comical genre scene, adults crowd the small General Delivery window of a city post office, elbowing each other aside and upturning a basket in the process. Their focus is entirely on a competition to get to the window or to read their recently received mail. No adults seem to be paying attention to the three barefoot children practicing their street trades among the crowd. Looking more like a small monkey than a child, one tiny newsboy sits on the steps smoking a cigarette and selling papers. On the left side of the canvas, a pickpocket plunders a well-dressed gentleman in a top hat reading his mail. A second pickpocket is in the midst of the scrum at the delivery window, his victim looking back as if he notices something. The boy is obscured by the billowing bustle of the woman in pink and the victim seems unwilling to pull his arms back from the race to the window, so he is unable to see the young perpetrator. These children are free to practice their crimes because the adults are too busy with their own concerns, ignoring the social and parental duties of

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[370] Charles Loring Brace, *The Dangerous Classes of New York and Twenty Years' Work Among Them.* (New York: Wynkoop & Hallenbeck, Publishers, 1872), ii.

raising children. Discarded and overlooked, they are picking the pockets of American society, signaling a nation on the decline by illustrating a future generation without the virtues of their Founding Fathers.

Not all adults were so willing to ignore the plight of urban children. Bradford Kinney Peirce's history of the formation and early years of New York's House of Refuge looked back on the changing perspectives of young criminals and how they should be managed. Initially driven by the religions ideals of Quakers in the United States and England, the idea of a separate juvenile justice program was meant as a way to prevent young offenders from getting worse. Children who were sent to adult prisons for their early legal infractions would quickly learn the profession of crime from their elders and then emerge as even more vicious criminals. Juries were often unwilling to condemn a child to such a fate, but in letting them off, the delinquent would be emboldened by the de facto lesson that they were free from punishment.[371] Without some type of alternative, young offenders had no vehicle of reform or repentance. If there was a means to provide these children with a moral and religious education in their youth, then the result was expected to be fewer adult prisoners and executions in America.[372] In 1826, philanthropic leaders in New York attempted to create an alternative for those children, the New York House of Refuge.[373]

The House of Refuge was meant to be different from a penitentiary or place of punishment. Instead, the House was viewed as a place for a fresh start and an

[371] Peirce, 31-46.
[372] Peirce, 67.
[373] Peirce, 130.

opportunity for education, recreation, food and shelter.[374] By providing vocational training in addition to moral instruction and safe living arrangements, young delinquents would be able to develop the skills they needed to become positive and productive members of the community. The house would include a school and a factory, with the curriculum focused on practical and vocational arts because learning to work was considered essential to the success of the child's education.[375] In most cases the children worked in a factory environment, although some did incorporate farm labor. One of the most exciting opportunities however was the vocational training that would empower the students by sending them outward bound, finding adventure and developing their character at sea.

As early as 1812, Reverend John Stanford, a Baptist minister, made the recommendation that there should be naval training for delinquent children in New York. When the House of Refuge opened in 1826, he argued again for a naval division of the program where boys could learn how to work masts and rigging on land, and then apply those skills at sea, developing skills needed for employment in the navy or the merchant marine.[376] The involvement of the Quakers in the New York reform school movement provided these young students with a great networking opportunity as well. These "Quakers with a vengeance" ran the whaling fleets of Nantucket and New Bedford and were in need of strong able sailors.[377] As the reformers of New York met with the whalers of New England at the Quaker Annual Meetings, the adventurous futures of

[374] Peirce, 285.
[375] Peirce, 62, 85.
[376] Peirce, 71.
[377] Herman Melville, *Moby Dick.* (New York: Penguin Books, 2001), 82.

many a Street Urchin were set in motion.[378] The sailing element of these urban reform schools expanded to Massachusetts as well and the State Reform School at Westborough maintained two training ships.[379] This maritime approach for outdoor education was an idea that was not quickly forgotten. Over a century later, in the darker days of World War II, Kurt Hahn would turn to a maritime solution in order to strengthen English youth through experiential education with a program he called Outward Bound.

Charles Loring Brace also worked to address the needs of Street Urchins. Among the programs embraced by his Children's Aid Society were the "orphan trains" that shipped neglected and poor children from New York City to rural locations in Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, Missouri, Illinois, and Kansas. Starting in 1853 and continuing until 1929, over 200,000 children were sent from Gotham's streets to the Midwest in order to relieve overpopulation and labor shortages simultaneously.[380] In 1872, Brace reflected on the work of the program "simple and most effective as this ingenious scheme now seems – [it]. . . has accomplished more in relieving New York of youthful crime and misery then all other charities together."[381] The method was grounded in Brace's faith in a rural ideal that saw in farming communities a sense of responsibility that was in short supply in eastern cities.

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[378] Peirce, 126.
[379] Peirce, 310.
[380] Pamela Riney-Kehrberg, *The Nature of Childhood: An Environmental History of Growing Up in America*. (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2014), 24-25; Steven Mintz, *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), 164-167.
[381] Charles Loring Brace, *The Dangerous Classes of New York, and Twenty Years' Work Among Them*. (New York: Wynkoop & Hallenbeck, Publishers, 1872), 226.

> The effort to place city-children of the street in country families revealed a spirit of humanity and kindness, throughout the rural districts, which was truly delightful to see. . . There was – and not in one or two families alone – a sublime spirit of patience exhibited toward those unfortunate little creatures, a bearing with defects and inherited evils, a forgiving over and over again of sins and wrongs, which showed how deep a hold the Spirit of Christ had taken of many of our country women.[382]

Like the White Mountain Tales of Nathaniel Hawthorne, a stronger and more patient morality was believed to exist in the rural areas of America. Connecting delinquent children to that morality provided an opportunity to reform and redeem them. Moving them out of the city and into the country, farther from civilization and closer to wilderness, was in Brace's mind the most effective means of accomplishing that redemption.

One anecdotal example Brace provided in his 1872 text *The Dangerous Classes of New York, and Twenty Years' Work Among Them*, related the story of a particularly challenging child who had been bounced around numerous Asylums in New York City until he was sent to northern Michigan by the Children's Aid Society. Although they expected the boy to continue his habits of running away, in the wilds of the upper Midwest, he settled in.

> At length a chance was offered him of being a trapper, and he began his rovings in good earnest. From the Northern Peninsula of Michigan to the Rocky Mountains, he wandered over the woods and wilds for years, making a very good living by his sales of skins, and saving considerable money. All accounts showed him to be a very honest, decent, industrious lad – a city vagrant about to be a thief transformed into a country vagrant making an honest living.

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[382] Brace, 230.

> Our books give hundreds of similar stories, where a free country-life and the amusements and sports of the farmers, when work is slack, have gratified healthfully the vagrant appetite. The mere riding a horse, or owning a calf or lamb, or trapping an animal in winter, seems to have an astonishing effect in cooling the fire in the blood in the city rover, and making him contented.[383]

What this young boy needed was not to have his spirit broken, but rather more elbow room. He needed to be transported to the wilder and more open environment of the west, where his natural characteristics could more freely express themselves. In this, the boy was not seen as being inherently sinful; it was the urban environment that was sinful, restricting, and acting as the corrupting influence on him.

The need to ramble and rove was a characteristic that Brace and other educational reformers considered hard wired into the nature of children. This idea not only influenced the work of the Children's Aid Society, but it also played a strongly influential role in the early development of child psychology and the twentieth century outdoor education movement. As Brace observed:

> There is without a doubt in the blood of most children – as an inheritance, perhaps, from some remote barbarian ancestor – a passion for roving. There are few of us who cannot recall the delicious pleasure of wandering at free will in childhood, far from schools, houses, and the tasks laid upon us, and leading in the fields or woods a semi-savage existence. In fact, to some of us, now in manhood, there is scarcely a greater pleasure of the senses than to gratify "the savage in one's blood," and lead a wild life in the woods. The boys among the poor feel this passion almost irresistibly. Nothing will keep them in school or at home.[384]

This ancestral, racial connection of a savage life in the woods to innate youthful urges was central to the work of G. Stanley Hall, who argued that children transitioned through

[383] Brace, 342.
[384] Brace, 339.

various stages of development that mirrored stages of cultural development from savagery to civilization.[385] The popularity of Hall's work helped to reinforce the importance of Native American imagery in the early years of the summer camp and outdoor education movement. By donning the attire and faux rituals of generalized Indians, campers were supposed to embrace their "remote barbarian ancestors" and evolve psychologically as American society had evolved culturally.[386] But this passage also suggests a link to twenty-first century outdoor education through its acknowledgment of the sensory experience of time spent outdoors. As argued by Richard Louv, the digitally based, highly structured, indoor lifestyle of modern American youth, both at home and in school, lack the capability to stimulate a child's senses. The resulting behaviors from this under-stimulation are often diagnosed as Attention Deficit Disorder (ADD). For Louv and many early twenty-first century outdoor and environmental educators, immersion in outdoor classrooms fully stimulates a child's senses, thereby removing the unwanted behaviors that often retard academic performance.[387] Although the rationale may be different, the conclusion is the same. If kids are socially difficult and struggling in school, send them into the outdoors and they will right themselves just through exposure to the natural environment.

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[385] Hall's highly racialized stages of development served to reinforce the belief that the Anglo-Saxon was the epitome of human development and that all other races were examples of lower stages. For more on this refer to Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995) and Abigail Van Slyck, *A Manufactured Wilderness: Summer Camps and the Shaping of American Youth, 1890-1960.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006).

[386] As opposed to historically or anthropologically accurate depictions of specific tribes.

[387] Richard Louv, *Last Child in the Woods: The Case Against Nature Deficit Disorder*. (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill, 2008); Richard Louv, *The Nature Principle: Human Restoration and the End of Nature Deficit Disorder*. (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill, 2011).

The belief that changing a child's environment into a more natural setting resulted in positive transformation in the child's behavior echoed the cultural tropes of the Barefoot Boy. The Barefoot Boy was the natural product of a healthy childhood; the Street Urchin was the consequence of an unhealthy one. Although authors regularly questioned the moral potential of Celtic, Germanic, or Italian peoples living in urban American slums, their racism made room for the possibility that all children could have a Barefoot Boy inside. The belief that children could be redeemed from a life of crime rested on the ideal that children were inherently good, even if their ultimate potential seemed limited by the racial prejudice of the period. And if they were inherently good, the challenge of the teacher unlocking that goodness, to awakening the traits inside the child so as to allow that virtue to direct the actions of the young citizen. This was a dramatic change from the Puritan position that saw children as inherently evil and in need of submission to the Congregation and the Word of God. That cultural change was reflected in the professed pedagogy of the Children's Aid Society, a "new method" known as the Object System of Teaching.[388]

The Object System was based on the work of Swiss educator Johann Pestalozzi. Central to this pedagogy was the perspective that a child's mind focused on objects before words as well as viewing objects as a whole before focusing on component parts. Because the child engaged a world of objects, teaching should primarily be concerned with perception and observation first and foremost. Once the children trained their senses to perceive and closely observe the world around them, then they would be able to

[388] Brace, 182.

develop their reflective and analytical faculties.[389] The "old education" model that was popular in Europe and the United States favored the use of "mechanical memorization" of words and names rather than any attempts at self-discovery, original research, or observation. Pestalozzi considered that approach counter to a child's nature, retarding their intellectual growth. Instead, Pestalozzi argued for a pedagogy based on sense-perception, verification, and observation.[390] Focusing on developing the child from the inside out, Pestalozzi's method provided a dramatic change to education in New England from the Puritan mechanical memorization of religious texts, which imposed order from without so as to break the sinful spirit of the child.

Joseph Neef, one of the first practitioners of Pestalozzi's methods in the United States, used the metaphor of an acorn to describe the Pestalozzian view of a child's nature. Within the acorn exists the germs of the mighty oak tree, all the traits it needs to achieve its destiny. Like the acorn, each child has within them the raw materials of genius, all of the talents and strengths needed to survive. From this understanding of a child's nature, education serves as a process of drawing forth that genius from the child's mind. The teacher studies the child and draws out those faculties, helping each child recognize and utilize the strength within. Pestalozzi's approach was not focused on introducing concepts, but rather relying on student interest to draw out what is already there and germinating.[391] Neef's treatment of Pestalozzi organized sources of knowledge into a hierarchy. At the top was the direct primary experience that the student gained

[389] Brace, 182.
[390] Brace, 182; Will S. Monroe, *History of the Pestalozzian Movement in the United States*. (New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1969. Originally published 1907), 18.
[391] Monroe, 81-89.

through their immediate senses. The next most reliable was memory, followed by analogy, but the least reliable source of knowledge in the Pestalozzian system was books. Pestalozzi himself did not teach with books and he had a profound distrust for bookish knowledge, especially when an author built their case on theoretical grounds rather than personal experience.[392]

The central principles of Pestalozzi's Object System constructed knowledge by awakening the senses through play and observation. The eleven step process of the Object system challenged the student to:

> (1) Study of the object as a whole; (2) determine the coherency, subordination, connection or relation between two objects, or between the part and whole of an object; (3) examine the number of things; (4) point out the position or situation of the object; (5) point out the qualities of the object; (6) form or shape of the object; (7) organic functions of the object; (8) uses we may make of the object; (9) resemblance of this object with other somewhat similar objects; (10) difference of this object with other objects studied; (11) summary – an exact and precise description of all that has been observed investigated, analyzed and determined in the preceding steps.[393]

Language was acquired through experience and sounds, eventually leading to a love of reading based on natural curiosity. Lessons of spelling and grammar would develop naturally and through experience. Geography and natural history would also be taught through the object system, with the students drawing their own maps based on their observations as well as directing student attention to plants and animal tracks so that they

[392] Monroe, 36 and 85.
[393] Monroe, 84.

could discover the similarities and differences on their own, before learning the names associated with the taxonomy of flora and fauna.[394]

Because the flow of learning was meant to be drawn forth from the children, rather than imposed upon them, the role of the teacher was also transformed. The responsibility for learning rested on the shoulders of the student through observation and reflection, not the memorization and drill imposed by the teacher. As Brace explained, the teacher "can no longer slip along the groove of mechanical teaching. She must be wide-awake, inventive, constantly on the *qui vive* to stir up her pupil's minds. The droning over lessons, and letting children repeat, parrot-like, long lists of words is not for her. She must always be seeking out some new thing and making her pupils observe and think for themselves. Her duty is a hard one. But this is the only true teaching."[395]

This Romantic ideal that every child can learn to think for themselves dovetailed with the republican need for an educated citizenry. Near the end of Brace's text he urged the importance of free thinking educated children for the survival of the American way of life. "A republic like ours, resting on universal suffrage, is in the utmost danger from such a mass of ignorance at its foundation."[396] For the Republic to survive, American children needed to stay connected to the natural world, trust their instincts and their own observational skills, and act according to their natures. Nothing could be farther from the ideals set up by Cotton Mather and his Puritan colleagues.

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[394] Brace, 184-190.
[395] Brace, 193.
[396] Brace, 350.

By the late nineteenth century, this belief that even the dirtiest Street Urchins held a kernel of goodness found multiple means of expression: literary, artistic, and experiential. In the 1870's, a number of wealthy citizens of Boston worked to organize picnic trains providing Street Urchins with the opportunity to escape the urban environment even for just a few days in the summer. In 1874, over 6000 children were sent on six such excursions to locations such as Walden Pond in Concord and Silver Lake in Plympton. The accounts of the experiences illustrate how the paradigms of Street Urchins and Barefoot Boys closely tied together landscape and behavior. Roughly one thousand tickets for an excursion were distributed by the neighborhood police, but on the day of the event there came together "a small army of street Arabs, girls and boys, black and white, some with tickets and some without, all eager to go on the picnic."[397] Police, armed with canes, drove back the "outside barbarians" who lacked tickets but wanted to force their way onto the trains.[398] Some "misbehaving urchins", once on board the trains would pass their tickets off to children without them, so that more children made it onto the trains than expected. But as the train left the station, the transformation began as the children experienced the rural landscape of New England.

> The train of necessity proceeded slowly, and the long panorama of country scenes, so new to most of those on board, green fields and waving grass and trees thick with leaves – farmers getting in hay, cows and pigs – were received with shouts of admiration. For it is a matter of fact that some of these children had never seen the country before, and did not know that apples grew on trees.[399]

[397] "A Holiday: Saturday's Excursion for the Poor Children," *Boston Globe*, July 13, 1874, page 5.
[398] Ibid.
[399] Ibid.

Once they arrived in Plympton, their education was expanded through the landscape itself. "Silver Lake is a beautiful sheet of water, eight miles in circumference, thickly fringed with a dense growth of firs, birches, and maples. . . Its resemblance to a mountain lake has often been remarked."[400]

The landscape itself was credited with having a powerful natural effect on the children. Although ruffians and miscreants in the city, once they were cut loose among in the firs, birches, and maples they became moral and upstanding children. The organizers of the trips allowed the children to roam free, without any regulations or limitations to their experience, giving them snacks and a substantial picnic lunch and lemonade. In each case, after a full day of giving over a thousand children full access to the woods, swings, boats, and bath houses of Silver Lake, the Boston Globe reported that not a single accident, mishap, or behavior issue occurred. With accounts like these in the press, the evidence seemed to support the belief that a change of environment was all that was needed to reform youth. By the end of the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, social and educational reformers used this environmental transition as a means to improve the morality and quality of life through playgrounds and more extensive outdoor education programs. (See Chapter 6)

On the printed pages of children's novels, the faith in the positive nature inherent in youth was also reinforced, specifically that the virtues of honesty and integrity could exist in even the most disadvantaged characters and that all they needed was fertile ground to find success. The prolific author of juvenile literature, Horatio Alger

[400] Ibid.

maintained a consistent theme throughout his work that is often associated with the "rags to riches" optimism of late nineteenth century America. The recurring "hero" in his stories was generally a young boy of limited means, often a Street Urchin, orphan, or child whose family balanced precariously on the threshold of poverty. In wide ranging settings from city streets to circus tents to the California Gold Rush, Alger's "heroes" faced down challenges through a clever wit, honesty, and strength of character. Often the hero would face an opponent who was bigger, stronger, and more treacherous, but the young hero would prevail because of his integrity and ability to win the admiration of those around him. A consistent pattern was also that people in the city, especially those born into wealth, were deeply corrupted. Characters who "put on airs" or attempted to enforce some type of class hierarchy meet their downfall as the young hero overcame their wicked traps. The social dynamic of the hero's success was also of great importance. Again and again, the honesty and positive good nature of the young protagonist inspired those around him, often older and wealthier individuals who in the end provided the path for success.[401] Although most of Alger's heroes came from the city streets, they reinforced a paradigm that children were inherently good and often needed only a little support and a change in environment in order to flourish.

One of the most successful genre painters of the post-Civil War era built his career around the children who lived and worked on American city streets. John George Brown, the "Bootblack Raphael," began painting street urchins in the 1870s. Although

[401] For this research I read a number of Horatio Alger's works including: *The Young Adventurer* (1878); *The Young Explorer* (1880); *The Young Acrobat* (1888); and *Only an Irish Boy* (1894).

his strikingly realistic work was painted from life, the sentimentality that made him popular at the time went out of favor and by the 1920's he was generally disregarded.[402] Beneath their tattered clothes, his Street Urchins were playful, hardworking, and innocent. "There is only one reason why I paint children, and that is because I love them. I love the street arab, and never see a boy or a girl who has got to go out on the streets to make a living that my interest is not at once awakened."[403] Brown's subjects, always painted from life, were represented at play as in *The Juggler* (Figure 4.17) or succumbing to child-like distraction as in *Daydreaming* (Figure 4.18) but they were also captured as they made their livings on the street as in *Shine, Sir?* (Figure 4.19), *News Boy* (Figure 4.20), or *Jersey Mud* (Figure 4.21). Brown sought out the specific children that he felt best represented the noble Street Urchin ideal, independent and unconventional. As he described his perfect model: "A boy who doesn't say "yes, sir" but "yes, boss" – a boy who doesn't take off his hat politely when he talks with his elders – a boy who fights when he wants to, not when he has to – that is the boy I want. He makes the best model. He is bright, keen-witted, and when he is well treated he is tractable."[404] Although scores of children would jump at the chance to earn a dollar a day to sit and be painted, he was looking for that one child in ten who was able to show himself as a positive and happy boy. Mindful of the market forces involved in his art, Brown observed "The public wants happy-faced lads in their pictures of childlife. There is no sale of juvenile sadness."[405]

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[402] Kathleen S. Placidi, "Beyond Bootblacks: "The Boat Builder" and the Art of John George Brown" in *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*. Vol 77, No 10 (Dec., 1990), pp. 366-382.
[403] J.G. Brown, "A Painter of Street Arabs," *Boston Globe*, January 5, 1890, page 15.
[404] Ibid.
[405] Ibid.

The children Brown hired and the characters he constructed through their likeness fit perfectly the Horatio Alger mold. "I want an Irish-American boy – a young vagabond, barefooted if possible. I do not want a schoolboy, a home boy, a mother's nice little boy or any of that sort."[406] He saw these children as fiercely independent and industrious if they were given freedom. If however they were forced to work for someone else, they would rebel and slack off. In that way, Brown's Street Urchins reinforced an ethic of entrepreneurial capitalism rather than urban poverty. Brown saw the children as so innately positive that they would be able to withstand any crisis, an especially important trait during the dramatic market fluctuations of the 1890s. Brown's observations, however, reveal that he was more focused on constructing a visual character than on assessing their individual character. In one case, Brown recalled a boy whose mother had died, leaving him with his abusive father. Only two days after her death, he "was around again, as lively as a cricket. He had forgotten all about his mother. That is the peculiar thing about the New York street boy. You can't make him sad for any length of time. . . . It's against their nature. . . . Leave them alone, let them run free and unwatched, and they are all right."[407] (Figure 4.23) Brown also noted the peculiar integrity that these children possessed. "There's one singular thing about these boys I have had for models, I have never found one of them to be dishonest. I don't care what a boy's parentage may be or what kind of surroundings he may have in what he calls his home, when he comes into my studio he can be trusted."[408] By his own admission, Brown

[406] Benjamin Norman, "No More Ragged Boys," *Boston Globe*, December 25, 1898, page 14.
[407] J.G. Brown, "Painting Street Waifs," *Boston Globe*, September 30, 1894, page 29.
[408] Benjamin Norman, "No More Ragged Boys," *Boston Globe*, December 25, 1898, page 14.

sought out that remarkable child whose positive demeanor made him stand out from the rest, but in capturing him as the representative of American street children, he revealed a greater concern for promoting the innate virtue of children rather than the actual needs of the urban poor.

Brown's work uplifted the image of the Street Urchin while revealing the cultural belief that children were naturally and inherently good. Like Alger, he perpetuated the idea that these poverty stricken children may look rough, but they are doing well and society only needed to provide them with occasional changes in their environment in order to relieve their suffering. For turn-of-the-century reformers, outdoor programs like the picnic trains and eventually the Boy Scouts fit perfectly as an antidote to these conditions.

If Brown's Romantic sentimentality motivated the practice of outdoor education, the very different approach of Jacob Riis stressed the need. Riis's approach incorporated a level of spectacle aimed at triggering guilt and an intense emotional response in his audience. Through his 1890 publication of *How the Other Half Lives* and his dramatic lantern slide lectures held at church organizations, civic groups, and charity societies, Riis used fear and pity to draw support for tenement reform.[409] Brown had highlighted the angelic nature of his street children (Figure 4.22) while Riis' photography focused on the extreme conditions of their poverty (Figure 4.24). Riis portrayed downtrodden children as victims of the environment of the slums, but inherently innocent at heart. It

[409] Michelle Lamuniere, "Sentiment as Moral Motivator: From Jacob Riis's Lantern Slide Presentations to Harvard University's Social Museum," *History of Photography*. 36 (May 2012): 137-140.

was their environment that had the dominant impact on their development and morality.[410] Riis promoted the use of resettling tenement families in rural colonies, farm and trade schools, kindergarten, Settlement Houses, and especially playgrounds and small parks as a means to reform urban slums.[411] He believed that creating small green spaces throughout the city would transform the slums and their inhabitants, replacing the saloon as the center of social life, protecting children from street life, and providing a more natural environment for all.[412] Although the tone was dramatically different between the two artists, together they advanced an image of urban youth that needed a change of environment in order for their true selves to emerge. The mission to transform American youth from Street Urchin to Barefoot Boy was multifaceted. Picnic trains into the rural landscape were not enough. Youth needed to develop certain observational and technical skills in order make the most from their excursions in the landscape. They needed role models, object lessons in character development through outdoor education.

Tom Slade and the Redemption of a Street Urchin

Shortly after the formation of the Boy Scouts of America in 1910, the organization's national leaders realized that they could develop youth not only through sponsored outdoor programs, but also through literary adventures. The result was the *Every Boy's Library* collection, initially a library of 25 books selected by the administration of the Boy Scouts of America in order to provide positive reading experiences that would excite boys, while also providing "educational value and moral

[410] Marie Warsh, "Cultivating Citizens: The Children's School Farm in New York City, 1902-1931," *Buildings & Landscapes: Journal of Vernacular Architecture Forum*. 18 (Spring 2011): 69-70.
[411] James B. Lane, "Jacob Riis and Scientific Philanthropy During the Progressive Era," *Social Service Review,* 47 (March 1973): 38-40
[412] Warsh, 71.

worth."[413] The original list included special Boy Scout editions of classics such as Robert Lewis Stevenson's *Treasure Island*, Jules Verne's *20,000 Leagues Under the Sea*, Jack London's *Call of the Wild*, and James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans*, as well as the works of scouting founders Ernest Thompson Seton, Daniel Beard, and other original works commissioned for the collection. Percy Keese Fitzhugh, who wrote numerous commissioned Scout novels, transformed the hero of Horatio Alger into Tom Slade, the ideal Boy Scout, the redeemed Street Urchin, a little rough around the edges, but always looking sharp in his scout uniform. Through the adventures of Tom Slade, young scouts saw the lessons taught at Scout meetings in action, learning not only how signaling and knot tying could come in handy in daily life, but also how the morality professed by the Scout Law benefited the larger community.

These popular narratives were important because they articulated the link between an individual child's redemption and the larger social value of outdoor education. Mid-nineteenth century social reformers like Loring and Brace had argued that connecting children to the natural world would keep them out of prisons, but early twentieth century authors and outdoor educators expanded on broader societal contributions. Learning wilderness skills such as knot tying and first aid would boost the confidence of the children involved, but the real transformative value came when the child applied that knowledge for the benefit of the community, expressing a rugged communalism which had both local and national benefits. By practicing their skills and serving others,

[413] Percy K. Fitzhugh, *Along the Mohawk Trail, or Boy Scouts on Lake Champlain*. (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, Publishers, 1912), forward.

students of outdoor education would be able to reform themselves, their peers, and their community.

The character of Tom Slade made his first appearance simultaneously in print and on film. The 1915 silent film *The Adventures of a Boy Scout* was released with much fanfare, including promotions by former President Theodore Roosevelt and a cameo by President Woodrow Wilson. In addition to the silver screen, the story of the film was released in book form as *Tom Slade: Boy Scout of the Moving Pictures*. The plot of the story followed the transformation of a street urchin named Tom Slade, who gradually gave up his life of crime as he learned the skills required of a Boy Scout, transformed morally and intellectually through its outdoor education curriculum. Although no copies of the original film exist, the book and its numerous stills from the movie, provide insight into this retelling of the Alger-inspired tale utilized as both curriculum and promotion for the early Boy Scout movement.

Slade began the story as a street tough. (Figure 4.25) Surrounded by bootblacks, organ grinders and his drunk, negligent father, Tom lived in a run-down slum and spent his time stealing coal, skipping school, fighting, throwing stones, and harassing the local Chinese immigrants. During one of his nefarious exploits, he followed a young boy intending to rob him of a nickel, but before he could pounce, the boy turned and invited him to the Scout troop's signal camp. Once there, the Scouts offered Tom coffee and convinced him to spend the night at camp, learning how to signal another outpost on a neighboring hill. The following day, Slade stalked another boy, only to find him going to

the scout archery range.[414] Gradually throughout the book, Slade is drawn in more and more by the adventures of the boys and the role modeling of the young Scoutmaster, Mr. Ellsworth.

The physical aspects of the Boy Scouts' outdoor education curriculum, specifically the badge requirements, was outlined in great detail in the *Handbook for Boys*, but the adventures of Tom Slade articulated the corresponding moral curriculum of the Boy Scout movement as well as applications of the backcountry skills that might seem out of place in a modern world. As Tom developed a passion for signaling, he discovered that his speech, spelling, and grammar improved. The need to quickly send messages via semaphore and Morse code also sent Tom to the dictionary for further study. In learning that wood could be identified by smell, Tom chose to quit smoking in order to not restrict his senses in the forest.[415] His first aid and tracking skills allowed him to solve mysteries and play the role of the hero, helping to rescue those in distress. (Figure 4.26) In learning Scoutcraft, the curriculum of the Boy Scouts, Tom illustrated that moral character could be transformed through outdoor education. Tom and his fellow Scouts were able to become heroes, modern day Natty Bumpos, but with an instruction manual in the form of the *Handbook for Boys* and *Boy's Life* magazine.

The importance of rugged communalism was recurring message in the Slade books, specifically regarding the importance of how actions of every individual scout had a direct impact on the patrol, troop, and movement as a whole. In *Tom Slade: Boy Scout*

[414] Percy K. Fitzhugh, *Tom Slade: Boy Scout of the Moving Pictures*. (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, Publishers, 1915).
[415] Fitzhugh, *Tom Slade: Boy Scout of the Moving Pictures*, 82.

of the Moving Pictures, Mr. Ellsworth explained that being part of the Scouts is like carrying a large pack, when one Scout lies, steals, or commits any type of crime, all of the Scouts look bad as everyone in a uniform will be blamed for the one mistake.[416] This subjugation of the self to the community became a defining part of Tom's character. In *Tom Slade on the River*, the Scouts travel by boat up the Hudson and Lake Champlain before attempting a 50-mile hike to Plattsburg. Along the way, Tom proclaims his loyalty to the patrol. "The patrol idea was so firmly rooted in Tom's mind that he could never think of the individual scout. Rule or no rule, you couldn't pry that notion out of his head with a crowbar. Everything was for the glory and honor of the patrol."[417] Making good decisions was the responsibility of every individual, but the purpose of individual moral development was service to the community. This included role modeling good behavior for other *street urchins*, and adults were expected to serve the scouts by providing leadership and creating opportunities for youths to experience the uplifting environment of the natural world. In this way, the scouting archetype was not meant to be merely a "pull yourself up by the bootstraps" model of individual reformation, but was meant to provide a community with the route to redeem itself through social responsibility and interdependence.

Frank Webster's *The Boy Scouts of Lenox* was not part of the officially sanctioned *Every Boy's Library*, but it built on the tropes of scouting-themed juvenile literature, specifically the intergenerational responsibilities of youth and community

[416] Fitzhugh, *Tom Slade: Boy Scout of the Moving Pictures*, 65.
[417] Percy Fitzhugh, *Tom Slade on the River*. (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, Publishers, 1917), 170.

development.[418] The book opened with the men of Lenox in Town Meeting discussing the importance of starting a Scout troop and more importantly, selecting a man whose character is fitting for the role of Scoutmaster. Once organized, the troop's activities were driven by the boys' interests, specifically their love for playing in the woods. Although the boys initially were excited to hunt and kill wild life, their time spent observing nature allowed them to develop a deeper love for the natural world and a strong conservation ethic. On each of their hikes, the boys increase their ability to closely observe the natural world, identifying signs of local plants and animals, as they develop a deeper understanding of the interdependence of life. Although the boys wore khaki uniforms, Webster's characters were quick to differentiate themselves from more militarist outdoor programs of the period. A love of tracking animals, but an opposition to hunting paralleled a love of country and patriotism that rejected militarism. This link of observation and moral development blended together a reverence for nature and a Pestalozzian Object Lesson, into a strong anti-violence message within the scouting ideology, a message that was often misinterpreted when judged on purely visual grounds. (See Chapter 7)

The use of popular narratives to communicate the community value of outdoor education was not limited to the Boy Scouts. The 1918 silent film *The Golden Eaglet* follows the story of Margaret Ferris and her friend Dorothy, two bored young women who discover adventure and social importance when they form a Girl Scout Troop in their community. After watching a uniformed troop march through town, Margaret and

[418] Frank Webster, *The Boy Scouts of Lenox*. (New York: Cupples & Leon, Company, 1915).

Dorothy are inspired to organize a troop. The film chronicles their early camp experiences, illustrating camp life in tents, morning routines, calisthenics, meals, cleaning, and flag ceremonies, as well as the outdoor skills of tying knots, practicing semaphore, swimming, hiking, and fire building. When an emergency message needs to be delivered by telegraph from the train station, Margaret runs through the woods and swims across a lake to reach her destination. Upon arrival, she finds the station had been robbed and the clerk injured. She jumps into action, treating his wounds and then delivering the message by Morse code on her own. After returning from camp, the troop goes out into the community to tend to gardens, care for children, and assist a working mother whose husband was in the service. Margaret observes, "Housework is not so bad - - when you do it for your country!" At the end of the film, Margaret wins her Golden Eaglet award and celebrates "The proudest moment of her life." The recurring message throughout the film is that children can fight boredom by not only seeking adventure and learning wilderness skills at camp, but also by leveraging those skills in emergency situations and serving the community and nation as a whole.[419]

Juvenile adventure books like those of Fitzhugh and Webster and the on-screen tales of Tom Slade and Margaret Ferris articulated the larger vision of the outdoor education movement, that challenging outdoor experiences unleashed the strength of character and commitment to community that existed in every American child. Both the child and the community benefited from these experiences. Even the group of bullies in

[419] National Headquarters Girl Scouts, *The Golden Eaglet: The Story of a Girl Scout*, silent film, Josephine Daskam Bacon (Central Valley: National Headquarters Girl Scouts, 1918). Accessed on 1/19/2015: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k5UBGJAeDFM

the *Boy Scouts of Lenox* benefitted from the virtuous development of the scout troop. When the gang of street toughs were trapped in a bog, the Scouts risked their own safety, worked together as a team, and saved the bullies. (Figure 4.27) But as inspiring as these books were, they still provided a purely literary experience and by Pestalozzian object theory, that was still the lowest level of knowledge. The most important lesson of Scouting and the other outdoor education programs, was that nothing could substitute for actual experience. Ironically, it was another series of books that would underscore that message by empowering its readers to get into the wild.

Edward Cave was a Scoutmaster himself and realized that the *Handbook for Boys* was only able to provide a structural outline to the curriculum of Boy Scouting. His *Boy Scout Hike Book* (1913) and *The Boy's Camp Book* (1914) worked to fill a vacuum of back-country knowledge that empowered boys and prevented incompetent urban and suburban adults from leading youths into the backcountry. As much as organized camping drew on nostalgic images of nineteenth-century America, the percentage of Americans with actual backcountry skills was quite limited. Beyond military veterans, mountain tourists, sportsmen, and lumberjacks, there were very few Americans with the requisite experience needed to safely lead children on camping trips. Cave's books provided specific details on how to find and purchase quality equipment as well as how to build your own. Cave was very critical of much of the camping equipment being sold at the time saying, "camping goods manufacturers are not very particular as to the

practical merit of an article, as long as it will sell well."[420] He provided richly detailed descriptions on setting up camp, planning meals, and camp sanitation. Promoted by the national Boy Scout movement, Cave's books also became an instruction manual for smaller privately run camps across the country. But as much detail as his books provided, the ideology of outdoor education stipulated that texts were irrelevant, if youths lacked the opportunity to go out and experience the challenges of the outdoors on their own. As Cave asserted, "Even in early youth, with all our love of the mysterious, we cling to experiences as to a best companion. And truly it is a companion, a well tried friend, the source of all our pleasant memories and the best guide for our future."[421]

With over 100 illustrations by a young artist named Norman Rockwell, Edward Cave's *The Boy Scout's Hike Book* tied together the imagery of the Barefoot Boy, the object lessons of Pestalozzi, and the relationship with wilderness that Cooper and Seton advocated. The central discipline within Cave's curriculum was Woodcraft, which he described as not just technical skill, but also cunning.[422] "You must be in sympathy with the wilderness, have an innate understanding that makes you at home with nature. I might call it innate woods confidence."[423] This confidence, which Cave felt existed in every boy, was too often crowded out by other interests, the sights, sounds, and responsibilities of modern life. "True Woodcraft cannot be learned from a book, no more

[420] Edward Cave, *The Boy Scout's Hike Book*. (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1920. Originally published 1913.), 24.
[421] Cave, *The Boy Scout's Hike Book*., 3.
[422] Cave, *The Boy Scout's Hike Book*, 167.
[423] Cave, *The Boy Scout's Hike Book*, 175.

than can axemanship. Experience and natural aptitude are the things that count."[424] Reading was meant to give the young scout ideas, but those ideas were only trusted if they held up to practical testing in the backcountry.

The first image in Cave's *Hike Book* is a Norman Rockwell sketch titled, *Touching a High Spot,* where four scouts enjoy the fruits of their labor. Looking down from the summit, pointing and using a spyglass, the scouts are able to observe the landscape from a perspective unlike what they could have seen below. (Figure 4.28) Observational skills were essential to the development of the "Woodcraft Character Trait" and Cave dedicated an entire chapter specifically to observation, including a focus on developing patience and concentration. "Observation in its highest sense means the harmonious exercise of all the faculties keyed up to concert pitch. It means to be awake in every fibre to the challenge which Nature gives us, and know what is going on about us. To know by sight, sound, and scent all we can, and then some."[425] Observational skill, the ability to pick out specific details from the myriad of experience, had been essential skills that Emerson and Cole had argued for early in the nineteenth century. That same practice made up the essential first step to Pestalozzian methods and the Object Lesson. Numerous map making activities and games required scouts to closely study nature and accurately relate their observations on a map. Cave points out that those skills were also transferrable to professional careers in civil engineering, mining

[424] Cave, *The Boy Scout's Hike Book*, 180.
[425] Cave, *The Boy Scout's Hike Book*, 206.

engineering, or forestry.[426] For early twentieth century outdoor educators, observational skill was central to career planning and a curriculum of moral development.

Puritan New Englanders built their civilization as a battlement in the face of a dark and evil wilderness as they raised children corrupted by original sin. But as America entered the twentieth century, New Englanders saw wilderness and childhood through entirely different eyes. Rather than viewing wilderness as a reflection of Satan in the world, they saw instead paths to salvation. Civilization was no longer seen as the ideal environment for moral development. Instead, the urban cities that civilization had created were seen as the most corrupting influence on youth. Children needed to return to nature in order to express their natural state, positive, healthy, active, and community oriented. Outdoor education drew heavily on that imagery and the narratives of this ideology for both the curriculum and the promotional materials of the movement. Promising parents and civic leaders that through outdoor education, children and communities would be redeemed and America's potential could be reached. As Edward Cave promised his young readers, "You will find that, sifted down, woodcraft in all its senses is a character trait rather than an art, a truth to be grasped rather than a skill to be acquired; that to become a true woodscraftman you must grow to be a certain sort of man.

[426] Cave, *The Boy Scout's Hike Book*, 164.

A pretty good sort, according to the usual standard. In fact, I don't believe the world has ever produced a better."[427]

[427] Cave, *The Boy Scout's Hike Book*, 181.

Chapter 5: A Transcendental Classroom

Devastated by his young wife's tragic death, his faith shattered, and his vocation in question, a 29-year old Ralph Waldo Emerson retreated from his pulpit in Boston to the White Mountains seeking answers and inspiration. A month previous, he confessed to his journal "I have sometimes thought that in order to be a good minister it was necessary to leave the ministry. The profession is antiquated. In an altered age, we worship in the dead forms of our forefathers. Were not a Socratic paganism better than an effete superannuated Christianity?"[428] Hoping to discover a message suitable for a Sunday sermon, he arrived in Conway, New Hampshire and wrote "Here among the mountains the pinions of thought *should* be strong and one *should* see the errors of men from a calmer height of love & wisdom."[429] When Emerson was most insecure of his footing in the pulpit, he turned to the White Mountains of New Hampshire to find truth and strength.

His journey brought him past the scene of the Willey Disaster, up through the Notch, and on to Ethan Allen Crawford's inn. He began his journal entry, dated 14 July 1832: "There is nothing to be said. Why take the pencil? I believe something will occur. A slight momentum would send the planet to roll forever. And the laws of thought are not unlike. A thought I said is a country wide enough for an active mind. It unrolls, it unfolds, it shows unlimited sense within itself."[430] But his thoughts were obscured in

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[428] Alfred R. Ferguson, ed. *The Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Vol IV 1832-1834*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1964), 27.
[429] Ferguson, 27. Emphasis is mine.
[430] Ferguson, 28.

darkness and mourning. His journal continued wrestling with the wretchedness of life and difficulty of engaging his soul from the depths of depression until his pen uncovered a thought that did light a spark which would send the planet rolling.

> The good of going into the mountains is that life is reconsidered; it is far from slavery of your own modes of living and you have opportunity of viewing the town at such a distance as may afford you a just view nor can you have any such mistaken apprehension as might be expected from the place you occupy & the round of customs you run at home.
>
> He who believes in inspiration will come here to seek it. He who believes in the woodloving muses must woo them here. And he who believes in the reality of his soul will therein find inspiration & muses & God & will come out here to undress himself of pedantry & judge righteous judgment & worship the First Cause.[431]

Immersed in the sublime "First Cause", lodging with the Crawford family, Ralph Waldo Emerson discovered his muse and found the direction of his life. He decided then and there to leave the ministry in order to spread his message as a teacher and lecturer, unrestrained by institutions and traditions.[432] The experience, the change in perception, and the muses Emerson discovered in the White Mountains set in motion a kernel of thought that would develop into the movement known as American Transcendentalism and from that into the pedagogy of outdoor education. The Transcendentalism of Emerson and his colleagues in New England provided the intellectual, the spiritual, and the pedagogical foundation for a movement that would send children into the wild for the next two centuries.

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[431] Ferguson, 29.
[432] Ferguson, xi.

The Transcendentalists contributed two fundamental elements to the pedagogy of outdoor education. First, they stressed the supremacy of direct primary experience as the first step in learning. Through intuition and reflection, knowledge was constructed from experience, and the more direct the experience the more authentic the learning. Book learning and traditional classroom lectures were based on secondary experiences, and therefore hindered the individual's opportunity to construct original thought. This was of great importance to the Transcendentalists' faith in democracy, as each individual must be capable of constructing their own opinions based on their unique experience for the American political system to be effective. If citizens merely adopted the opinions of others, whether from political leaders or the press, then democracy would be reduced to a process of swaying intellectually dependent mobs from one political side to another. As a corollary to this supremacy of direct experience, the Transcendentalists saw the natural world as a direct expression of God's creation. Therefore the best types of experiences were those in nature, as they led to the highest and most profound moral lessons. The second fundamental element that Transcendentalism contributed was an affirmation of the Socratic Method as the preferred means to draw out learning from students. Rooted in the style of Plato and Jesus, the Transcendentalist model facilitated reflection rather than depositing knowledge. This process developed the faculties and abilities of the students, making them more independent learners, able to think rather than repeat content from memory.

The relevance of the Transcendentalists to experiential education lies not in the number of students that they taught directly, but rather through the discourse they

sparked. The conversations, reflections, writings, and public speeches they gave fueled educational discussions and innovations around the country.[433] The Transcendentalists did create schools and teach students, in both physical and fictional school houses, but in articulating an ideal relationship to knowledge and character development, stressing the importance of individualism for the success of democracy, and a direct relationship with the natural world, they exerted an influence on generations of outdoor educators. The most famous examples of Transcendental classrooms, Bronson Alcott's Temple School and the Transcendentalist utopian community of Brook Farm, were both short lived and ended in flames, either politically or actually. The literary expressions of Transcendental education, through Ralph Waldo Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Louisa May Alcott, and Henry David Thoreau, made a broader impact on the movement as a whole by idealizing what a learning experience could be. This is not to say that all of the experiments in Transcendental education were all failed or fictional: Elizabeth Peabody's work to establish Kindergarten in Boston successfully spread a method of learning based on direct primary experience on a broad popular scale. The models and frameworks established through the Transcendental educational experiments served as a well-spring for the pedagogic structure of summer camp, outdoor education, and flowed into the work of John Dewey, the philosopher largely considered the father of twentieth century experiential education.

The Transcendentalists are a difficult movement to pinpoint. Although Emerson is identified as the central figure of this amorphous group, the specific membership has

[433] Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull House*. (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1912) 50, 107, 285.

been debated. Henry David Thoreau, Margaret Fuller, Elizabeth Peabody, A. Bronson Alcott, and George Ripley are among the number of first generation Transcendentalists, writers and reformers in New England who were most prolific through the 1830's and 1840's. Although they lacked any specific common cause and their beliefs were often in flux, the very lack of discipline within the Transcendentalist circle proved to be one of its defining strengths.[434] The Transcendentalists were rebelling against the religious establishment of the time, inspired by German Biblical criticism that led them to the belief that internal evidence could be a viable foundation for faith. All of its initial leaders were under the age of 30, so it was also a generational revolt, influenced by the political, economic, and religious upheaval of the period.[435] Transcendentalism was really a "state of mind", a reaction against the rationalism within the Unitarian church as well as the Enlightenment views of John Locke that saw all knowledge as derived from the senses.[436] For them, the senses were not the ultimate source of truth, but rather truth was intuited through reflection on what the senses perceived. Truth was individualized and open to interpretation, not rigid and inflexible. But they also believed that there was one unifying life force that bound the world together and that each living thing had unique insights to one piece of it. The way to understand this force, what Emerson called the Oversoul, was to explore your individual intuition and use it as a doorway to the universal. In this way, a journey into the self was a means to connect with all life on

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[434] Lawrence Buell, *Literary Transcendentalism: Style and Vision in the American Renaissance*. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1973), 2-3.
[435] Charles Capper, *Margaret Fuller: An American Romantic Life*. (Oxford Scholarship Online: October 2011. Print publication date: 1995), 181.
[436] Buell, *Literary Transcendentalism,* 4-6.

Earth. As proponents of the Romantic Movement, what they lacked in philosophical precision, they made up for in poetic beauty, metaphor, and emotional effect.

They saw the core of religion as the ability to improve the moral character of the individual and embraced art and poetry as means to facilitate that growth. Although those New England intellectuals who are often classified as Transcendentalists developed and evolved their beliefs in different and often oppositional directions, Lawrence Buell identified the central unifying belief they shared as "the affirmation of man's ability to experience God first hand."[437] This faith extended to the larger process of self-cultivation, the development of the individual through experience and reflection. Rejecting the doctrine of Original Sin from their Calvinist forebears, this largely Unitarian group embraced the ideal that humans were made in God's image, and therefore inherently good. In believing that knowledge of the divine was not only personally accessible but also existed within the core of every soul, the Transcendentalists opened the doors to the pedagogy of experiential education. If the divine could be found within, then learning was an individualized and internal process of reconnecting with a divine truth residing in each soul, not the result of a transmission of external knowledge from without. This fundamentally transformed the educational process. If moral and intellectual development came from within, then the ideal education was a process that unleashed and cultivated the individual. The belief in the inherent worth and dignity of all people helped to underscore the need to reform and

[437] Buell, *Literary Transcendentalism*, 45.

educate the children growing up in the urban slums, rather than condemn them, control them, or just write them off as Street Arabs.

Emerson's Experiential Epistemology

Approaching a study of the Transcendentalists through a strict chronology imposes an artificial structure on the movement. In truth, twentieth-century outdoor education would approach the Transcendentalists as a whole canon, not broken down by chronological order. The Transcendentalist were more like a solar system, celestial bodies moving on their own paths, but influencing each other through the gravity of their ideas, orbiting a star that was the quest for truth and beauty, while other intellectual comets blazed in and out of their system. They influenced each other and those around them, but they were always charting their own course through the heavens. The most important body in this celestial system of Transcendentalism, influencing the ideas of all of the others while crystalizing the movement's ideas into its most complete form, was Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Before the intellectual flowering of 1830s Boston was given the mantle of "Transcendentalism" it was generally referred to as just the *New Views*. Emerson argued that in fact these ideas were hardly new at all, but merely old thought cast in new times. In his words, Transcendentalism was really "Idealism as it appears in 1842."[438] Emerson felt that any class of intuitive thought could be described as Transcendentalism.[439] To understand the influence of Transcendentalism on the pedagogy of outdoor education, it

[438] David Van Leer, *Emerson's Epistemology: The Argument of the Essays.* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 2.
[439] Van Leer, 3.

is important to first explore the movement's epistemology, that is, the understanding of nature and structure of knowledge and how men experience reality.[440] As an intellectual discipline, philosophy is evaluated by its internal consistencies, but one of Emerson's central tenets was his right to change his mind, making a clear definition of Emersonian epistemology difficult if not impossible.[441] More poet than philosopher, Emerson did express an understanding of nature and a structure of knowledge through his essays as well as strong opinions on the educational process and how one should come to know and experience reality. Emerson saw education as an unfolding, as a development of character from within, not merely skills training. He also shared the Jeffersonian ideal that a democracy could only succeed if it had an educated citizenry, but that formal schooling did little to strengthen the intellectual capabilities of youth. For Emerson, real learning occurred outside of the classroom.[442] In articulating these ideas, Emerson influenced others within the Transcendental movement, drawing them in by the sheer force of his intellectual gravitas.

Emerson's first great Transcendental text was his 1836 book *Nature*. *Nature* captured the idealism fermenting around Boston in the 1830's and struck at the heart of the Calvinism lingering in its Puritan shadows. In his opening passage Emerson observed: "The foregoing generations beheld God and nature face to face; we, through

[440] Van Leer, 15.
[441] Van Leer, 12-14.
[442] Howard Mumford Jones, ed. *Emerson on Education: Selections*. (New York: Teachers College Press, 1966), 19.

their eyes. Why should not we also enjoy an original relation to the universe?"[443] In asking that question he set a pedagogic tone for all that followed. Rather than relying on the observations of others, captured in books or instructed through classrooms, Emerson asserted that we all can "enjoy an original relation to the universe," that we can learn about the world through our own eyes and experiences, and that we should learn to trust that judgment. The remainder of his essay, and many others that followed it, built from that initial idea that each individual had the ability to discern truth from experience and should not be forced to accept the authority of previous generations.

Nature explored the division between Man and Nature, asserting that the fall of man was a result of his turn from the divine expressed both in nature and in the self. To repair this fissure, men needed to develop a closer relationship to the natural world and seek the lessons nature provided. For Emerson, that reflection on lived personal experience led the seeker to truth more directly than those practices in established churches. The divine relation Emerson favored was one that paired the elements of the natural world to the moral world, a concept he would later term Correspondence.[444] The evidence he offered in *Nature* came through the human perception of Beauty. The emotional joy felt when experiencing Beauty was a result of its divine nature and this extended beyond physical appearances to moral acts. Heroic and graceful acts were beautiful because they bore the mark of the divine and they taught people how they should act. "A virtuous man is in unison with her (Nature's) works, and makes the

[443] Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Nature* in *The Essential Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*. (New York: The Modern Library, 2000), 3.
[444] Buell, 151.

central figure of the visible sphere."[445] Virtue could then be learned by finding those divine expressions in nature, which could then be translated by the artist, poet, musician, or architect. Language itself represented signs of natural facts, symbols of spiritual facts, and evidence of the human relation to the spirit. "Man is an analogist, and studies relations in all objects."[446] These relations are then used to create our stories, legends, and our religions, but at their core, they are direct relations with nature. "The use of natural history is to give us aid in supernatural history; the use of the outer creation, to give us language for the beings and changes of the inward creation."[447] This human ability to use metaphor was for Emerson the core of learning.[448] All lessons taught in a classroom or from the pulpit were the metaphors that someone else experienced at a different time and place, but true learners should seek those lessons themselves, removing the intellectual middle man. This of course was a direct strike at the embattled Calvinist Puritan theocracy of New England. Congregations in Boston were already in turmoil from the Unitarian crisis of the 1830s which had pushed for a more liberal understanding of church doctrine and which had torn the church community in New England apart, but Emerson's suggestions went too far for even most Unitarians to accept. The idea that a direct relationship with nature could be the foundation of religious faith reeked of paganism. However Emerson was not suggesting worshiping nature, rather he urged for using the

[445] Emerson, *Nature*, 12.
[446] Emerson, *Nature*, 14.
[447] Emerson, *Nature*, 13.
[448] For more on the central importance of metaphorical learning within the experiential education movement see Stephen Bacon, *The Conscious Use of Metaphor in Outward Bound*. (Colorado Outward Bound School, 1983).

natural world as a text for moral learning, advising New Englanders to rely on the same "original relation" that their ancient forefathers had used.

For Emerson, the closeness of one's relation to nature translated to a deeper understanding of language and strength of character.[449] Emerson judged the landscape of the wilderness as superior to the city. The wilderness was an expression of the divine, while the city was only a creation of man.[450] He argued: "These facts may suggest the advantage which country-life possesses, for a powerful mind, over the artificial and curtailed life of cities. . . the poet, the orator, bred in the woods, whose senses have been nourished by their fair and appeasing changes, year after year, without designs and without heed – shall not lose their lesson altogether, in the roar of cities or the broil of politics."[451] Emerson's primary epistemological advice in *Nature* was to draw close to the natural world and personally study the metaphoric lessons it had to teach, and the more wild the nature, the more authentic the lessons. Emersonian learning was anchored in direct experience and personal reflection, so the best student was one who could engage nature, develop the skills to reflect on those experiences, and draw forth the divine lessons on their own.

Emerson's epistemological faith in nature as the source for knowledge was then translated into pedagogy through his 1837 speech, *The American Scholar*. Delivered as the Phi Beta Kappa address at Harvard, *The American Scholar* articulated the intellectual influences upon and the duties of American academia. He argued for the importance of

[449] Emerson, *Nature*, 15.
[450] Emerson, *Nature*, 6.
[451] Emerson, *Nature,*16.

direct primary experience and, like Thomas Cole had in his 1836 *Essay on American Scenery*, for Americans to sever their dependence on Europe and develop an intellectual and artistic culture of their own.[452] Emerson's three influences on the scholar, Nature, the Past, and Action, work in a cyclical relationship, reinforcing themselves in a pedagogic model reminiscent of John Dewey and David Kolb.[453] Nature, the first influence, included both direct observations of the natural world, as well as an understanding of human nature through observations on the social interactions of people. The second influence, the Past, included literature, art, history, and philosophy. These most often reached the scholar through books, but Emerson warned of the intellectually restrictive nature of the written word, that an education focused on drilling knowledge from another's mind undermined a student's present genius. Finally, Action was Emerson's third key influence. To be relevant, the scholar must be active and engaged with the world, not locked away in an ivory tower. The themes articulated in *The American Scholar* regarding education were reflected in many of Emerson's later works and just as *Nature* broke new ground for man's relationship with the natural world, so too did *The American Scholar* point to a new direction for American schools, creating a pedagogic fertile ground that would affect the creation of outdoor education.

Under the banner of this first influence of Nature, Emerson expanded the epistemological framework of his 1836 book. The young mind starts its authentic

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[452] Thomas Cole, "Essay on American Scenery," *American Monthly Magazine*, January 1836, from http://us.geocities.com/steletti/pages/scenery.html accessed on 10/24/2009.
[453] John Dewey, *Experience and Education*. (New York: Touchstone, 1997. Originally published in 1938); David Kolb, *Experiential Learning: Experience as the Source of Learning and Development*. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1984).

learning through experiencing the world and then categorizes these accumulated observations into patterns, metaphors, and theories. These patterns are tied together, while also revealing oppositions and cross currents, providing students with an understanding of the world based on their own construction of knowledge.[454] In Emerson's later essay titled *Intellect*, he affirmed that if truth was to be found, it must be found in nature, and that through reflection and abstract thought the intellect is the tool that could reveal that truth. The danger would come through an education based on drill that actually would hamper the intellect.[455]

The threat to a more Transcendental education came through the drill that so permeated many halls of learning, especially in regards to the humanities, or as Emerson described them the *Past*. The past was the second most important influence on the American Scholar and it must be framed correctly or else the intellectual development of the student would be stunted. For Emerson, the goal of education was for the student to be able to construct and express original thought. But although literature, history, art and philosophy held numerous examples of the original thoughts of humanity, their truths were limited to the generation that created them.[456] In this they too often became a static curriculum, not the inspiration for new brilliance.[457] As he explained:"Meek young men grow up in libraries, believing it their duty to accept the views which Cicero, which

[454] Ralph Waldo Emerson, "The American Scholar," in *The Essential Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*. (New York: The Modern Library, 2000), 45.
[455] Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Intellect," in *The Essential Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*. (New York: The Modern Library, 2000), 266-270.
[456] Emerson, "The American Scholar," 46.
[457] As Dr. Jasper Hunt, director of the Experiential Education Master's Degree program at Minnesota State University-Mankato and one of the most influential minds in twentieth century outdoor education would often say, "academic rigor" shares similar Latin roots with "rigor mortis", as both are stiff and lifeless. Strengthening "academic rigor" crushes the creative life and passion from the educational process.

Locke, which Bacon, have given; forgetful that Cicero, Locke, and Bacon were only young men in libraries when they wrote these books. . . Instead of Man Thinking, we have the bookworm."[458] Books were the repository of the genius of previous generations, but their role should be to inspire not to dominate the thought of the current generation. "Books are for a scholar's idle times." He argued, "When he can read God directly the hour is too precious to be wasted in other men's transcripts of their readings."[459] Schools and colleges must then be focused on the creative expression of new knowledge, not the recitation and drill of old knowledge. The primary experience of the student, preferably experience with nature, was a greater source of wisdom than ever existed in any library.

Emerson's assault on the written word and the ossified practices held over from previous generations were also the premise of one of his most inflammatory lectures, the Divinity School Address of 1838. Delivered before the faculty and students of the Harvard Divinity School, his remarks were so controversial that he was not invited back to his alma mater for almost 30 years.[460] In his address to the next generation of ministers in New England, Emerson identified the need to trust the self and for the teacher to be experienced in life, not just educated by books. His advice to these ministers idealized the teacher-student relationship and acknowledged the vital importance of challenge and adversity in awakening the soul. Emerson cautioned that books did not grant authority, but that personal intuition and experience did.[461] "The

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[458] Emerson, "The American Scholar," 47.
[459] Emerson, "The American Scholar," 48.
[460] Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Divinity School Address," *The Essential Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*. (New York: The Modern Library, 2000), 61.
[461] Emerson, "Divinity School Address," 66.

spirit only can teach. Not any profane man, not any sensual, not any liar, not any slave can teach, but only he can give, who has; he only can create, who is. The man on whom the soul descends, through whom the soul speaks, alone can teach. Courage, piety, love, wisdom, can teach; and every man can open his door to these angels, and they shall bring him the gift of tongues. But the man who aims to speak as books enable, as synods use, as the fashion guides, and as interest commands, babbles. Let him hush."[462] To his academic audience, steeped in a tradition that believed in the literal truth of the written word of God, this was nothing short of heresy. Emerson embraced this accusation of heresy through his 1841 essay *Self-Reliance* when he recounted:

> I remember an answer which when quite young I was prompted to make to a valued advisor who was wont to importune me with the dear old doctrines of the church. On my saying, "What have I to do with the sacredness of traditions, if I live wholly from within?" my friend suggested – "But these impulses may be from below, not from above." I replied, "They do not seem to me to be such; but if I am the Devil's child, I will live then from the Devil."[463]

For Emerson the authenticity of personal experience superseded the accusations of heresy. His responsibility was to speak from his soul and accuse the institutions of the academy and the church of a pedagogy heretical to the soul.

As much as Emerson rejected the bonds of historical tradition, he embraced history as an essential tool to understand the Divine, or as he often described it, the Oversoul. In his 1841 essay *History*, Emerson described this phenomenon and its importance to the understanding of the universe. "There is one mind common to all

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[462] Emerson, "Divinity School Address," 70.
[463] Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Self-Reliance," in *The Essential Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*. (New York: The Modern Library, 2000), 135.

individual men. Every man is an inlet to the same and to all of the same. . . . Of the works of this mind history is the record. Its genius is illustrated by the entire series of days. Man is explicable by nothing less than all his history."[464] Emerson saw the purpose of history as to account for the actions of human nature, to demonstrate through practice the behaviors and interactions of man, so as to provide material to understand the Oversoul, the divine thread woven through life. But that record did not stand alone. "The world exists for the education of each man," he declared and each generation, each individual, must interpret that record through the challenges and opportunities of their own present. [465] This interpretation was a reflection on the connections between the historic past and the present moral reality, an expression of his theory of Correspondency that "the mind is One, and that nature is correlative."[466] Because of the correlative nature of history, each person's experience was a reflection, an important piece of the deeper understanding of the universe. The soul was then the essential lens through which "he shall collect into a focus the rays of nature. History no longer shall be a dull book. It shall walk incarnate in every just and wise man. You shall not tell me by languages and titles a catalogue of the volumes you have read. You shall make me feel what periods you have lived."[467] The more academic approach to studying history was only an abstraction, a "shallow village tale."[468] The people who best understood the message of the universal were those who had not been blinded by that study. Academics were not enlightened by their study, but

[464] Ralph Waldo Emerson, "History," in *The Essential Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*. (New York: The Modern Library, 2000), 113.
[465] Emerson, "History," 115.
[466] Emerson, "History," 130.
[467] Emerson, "History," 130.
[468] Emerson, "History," 131.

had their senses dulled by it. "The idiot, the Indian, the child and the unschooled farmer's boy stand nearer to the light by which nature is to be read, then the dissector or the antiquary."[469] In this assertion, Emerson again broke from the religious and pedagogic traditions of New England, arguing that those who had been educated were not closer to understanding God, but rather further obscured from the light. Apparently Emerson believed the meek were indeed blessed.

The third major influence on the American Scholar was Action and Emerson was no advocate of the objective observer approach to academic work. "Inaction is cowardice, but there can be no scholar without the heroic mind. The preamble of thought, the transition through which it passes from the unconscious to the conscious is action. Only so much do I know, as I have lived. Instantly we know whose words are loaded with life, and whose not."[470] In a sentiment that would be reflected many times in his work, Emerson argued that one could not just be a passive observer in the world, but must be actively engaged in order to learn about the universe. Action was the essential testing ground of Thinking: "the mind now thinks, now acts, and each fit reproduces the other," creating a cyclical process of learning that moved between action and reflection.[471]

In *The Transcendentalist* from 1841, Emerson honed down the need for the reflective process to intuit learning and the need for the scholar to get their hands dirty with action. The Transcendental, he argued, was not simply knowledge based on

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[469] Emerson, "History," 131.
[470] Emerson, "American Scholar," 49.
[471] Emerson, "American Scholar," 52. The cyclical nature of education is fundamental to experiential education as a pedagogy, as best described by David Kolb's Experiential Learning Cycle.

experience, but rather knowledge intuited from the reflection on experience.[472] But too often idealists, raising the banner of Transcendentalism, reject society and withdraw from the world. His criticism of the idealist was also a stern warning to the ivory tower academic: knowledge not only must be leveraged into society in order to be truly valuable, it must also be leveraged in order to demonstrate and test its validity. The most accurate assessment of this validity is knowledge's ability to transform and uplift the moral character of the student. As expressed in his essay *Education*, "When a stupid man becomes a man inspired, when one and the same man passes out of the torpid into the perceiving state, leaves the din of trifles, the stupor of the senses, to enter into the quasi-omniscience of high thought, -- up and down, around, all limits disappear. No horizon shuts down. He sees things in their causes, all facts in their connection."[473] The transformative nature of education did not lead to isolation but rather a connection to the larger world, the human and ecological community. This was what separated Emersonian epistemology from anti-intellectualism. Emerson did not reject all learning, rather he rejected the type of learning that led to a separation from the larger world. He was not at all opposed to intellectual thought, rather he was opposed to the anti-social behaviors of some who identified themselves as intellectuals.

The action-reflection cycle of Emersonian pedagogy was also central to the Unitarian rebellion from the Calvinist founders of New England. Self-culture, the belief that a person's character could be cultivated much as land was improved through

[472] Ralph Waldo Emerson, "The Transcendentalist," in *The Essential Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*. (New York: The Modern Library, 2000), 86.
[473] Ralph Waldo Emersion, "Education," in Howard Mumford Jones, ed. *Emerson on Education: Selections*. (New York: Teachers College Press, 1966), 205.

agriculture, approached acts not as signs of salvation but as a means to bring about that transformation.[474] Education should be the central expression and vehicle of that transformation and self-culture, but it needed to be an education that brought one's character closer to the Oversoul. "The end of Life is that man should take up the universe into himself."[475] Reconnecting the individual piece of the universal within every soul to the multiple shards of the universal that existed in nature led to a deeper connection to the world, both intellectually and spiritually. "The great object of Education should be commensurate with the object of life. It should be a moral one; to teach self-trust: to inspire the youthful man with an interest in himself; with a curiosity touching his own nature; to acquaint him that there is all his strength, and to inflame him with a piety towards the Grand Mind in which he lives. Thus would education conspire with the Divine Providence. A man is a little thing whilst he works by and for himself, but, when he gives voice to the rules of love and justice, is godlike, his word is current in all countries; and all men, though his enemies, are made his friends and obey it as their own."[476] Many have interpreted Emerson's idealism as a form of extreme individualism, but that is a misreading of his overall philosophy.[477] He did stress the importance of self-trust and individual courage, but he saw that as the route to the universal mind, the Oversoul. In building that intuitive understanding of the self, the learner built a tight link

[474] David Robinson, *Apostle of Culture: Emerson as Preacher and Lecturer*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982).
[475] Emerson, "Education," 208.
[476] Emerson, "Education," 211.
[477] Albert von Frank, "Essays: First Series," in Joel Porte and Saundra Morris, *The Cambridge Companion to Ralph Waldo Emerson*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999) argues that Emerson's *Essays: First Series* should be read as a series of counterbalancing essays. For example, "History" affirmed that humans were all part of one mind and "Self-Reliance" called on the reliance of each person on their own mind. This interplay, which speaks to Emerson's larger metaphysical perspective, is often lost when the essays are separated and dissected.

to his community, ecosystem, art, culture, and poetry. Developing the self appeared to be an expression of rugged individualism, but it led to rugged communalism.

Emerson's impact on New England education was significant. In his Sermons to Literary Men, the Address on Education, the American Scholar, Literary Ethics, and the Divinity School Address he spoke directly to audiences of educators.[478] As the most popular speaker on the Lyceum circuit, he traveled around the northeast spreading his ideas to the masses, not just the elites gathered at Harvard.[479] But Emerson was reacting to and was a product of his own historical period. Emerson was not arguing for summer camps or sending masses of children into the woods, yet he provided an epistemological framework that made this movement possible in the twentieth century. Emerson's writing normalized an approach to youth development that allowed broad segments of the population to see the need of immersing their young children into the natural world as an essential component of their moral development. Emerson saw an education based on personal interactions with the natural world as superior to those found in the library or classroom; a pedagogy that built the individual so as to improve society, where "the office of the scholar is to cheer, to raise, and to guide men by showing them facts amidst appearances."[480] And this active idealism resonated in progressive classrooms across New England.

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[478] Robert Milder, "The Radical Emerson?" in Joel Porte and Saundra Morris, *The Cambridge Companion to Ralph Waldo Emerson*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
[479] R. Jackson Wilson, "Emerson as Lecturer: Man Thinking, Man Saying," in Joel Porte and Saundra Morris, *The Cambridge Companion to Ralph Waldo Emerson*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
[480] Emerson, "The American Scholar," 52.

Transcendental Pedagogy in the Classroom

Mid-nineteenth century Transcendentalists found ways to convert their ideals into action by creating a number of unique and progressive schools throughout New England. Primarily through the work of A. Bronson Alcott, Elizabeth Peabody, Margaret Fuller, and George Ripley, the confluence of Socratic Method and a respect for an individual student's direct primary experience found expression in the classroom. Although most of these experiments were short lived and directly impacted only a small percentage of students in New England, they demonstrated the pedagogic value of these New Views known as Transcendentalism and they sparked generations of discourse regarding the most effective methods of teaching.

The most influential and controversial educator within the Transcendentalist community was a rather uneducated Connecticut farm boy named A. Bronson Alcott. During his day, he was one of the most talked about educators in America, but his meteoric fall from grace and his frequent and eccentric failures tarnished his reputation, relegating him to the fringes of twentieth century educational discourse. Alcott grew up on a hardscrabble farm in rural Connecticut, ending his formal schooling at age 13, but carried with him a passion for education and reading. Throughout his life *Pilgrim's Progress* played a central role in his personal and professional career, he read the book countless times, used it as the basis of his classes, and acted it out with his siblings and later his own children. As a young man, he worked as a peddler in the south before returning to Connecticut to teach. Drawing on his southern travels as a developmental substitute for a college education, Alcott's style in the classroom was significantly more

pragmatic and experiential than those educated on the shores of the Charles River.[481] A tall awkward school teacher in rural New England in the 1820s, Alcott seemed to personify Irving's Ichabod Crane, but Alcott was an academic risk taker, one who continually put his ideals into action, even if they went against the beliefs of his local community.

Alcott believed that children were born with a deeper understanding of the larger structure of the universe, which they lost over time in large part due to the deleterious effects of society and the educational process. Maintaining and learning from that youthful faculty was essential to a proper moral education.[482] His pedagogic motto in his early career was "Education's All," a heretical belief in a time when much of New England saw religion as all. The motto summed up his two fundamental beliefs that all men are by nature equal and inherently good, at least when they were children. Because of this, he also felt the school master, not the minister, had the most important and direct role in developing the character of children in the community. Throughout his career, every time Alcott approached his ideals in the classroom and parents realized his true aims, he was forced to leave the school.[483]

Alcott's understanding of children's nature came from his personal and daily interactions with them, not from the dogmatic or academic traditions of his more highly

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[481] Dorothy McCuskey, *Bronson Alcott, Teacher*. (New York: Arno Press & New York Times, 1969. Part of the series American Education: Its Men, Ideas, and Institutions. Originally published in New York: The MacMillan Company, 1940), xi-18; Richard Francis, *Fruitlands: The Alcott Family and Their Search for Utopia*. (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2010), 16.
[482] Francis, 18.
[483] McCuskey, 21-23.

educated peers. He also felt that the Calvinist belief in the innate depravity of children was incompatible with the American ideals of democracy and equality. Because he believed that children were physically active beings, he modified their desks, recognized play as an educative tool, and incorporated physical exercises into the school day. He modified the classroom to be more visually appealing, bringing in flowers and art to inspire them, while also incorporating journal writing to facilitate deeper reflection on moral development. He eliminated corporal punishment and rejected methods of rote learning, focusing more on pushing students to think deeply about their actions, their words, and larger meanings. His innovations began to cause a stir, among parents, religious leaders, and even progressive New England educators, who all questioned his approach of drawing out religious teaching rather than imposing doctrines. In 1828, the *American Journal of Education* described his practices in his Connecticut classroom and his notoriety began to spread.[484]

During this period Alcott discovered the work of Swiss educator Johann Pestalozzi. Pestalozzi rejected the rote memorization dominant in European schools and argued for the object lesson approach, whereby students used their senses, testing, and original reflective thought to construct knowledge.[485] In Pestalozzi's epistemological hierarchy, the immediate senses of the student held the highest importance, followed by memory, analogy, and finally books. His distrust of books was profound, especially when he felt the knowledge rested primarily on theoretical grounds without practical

[484] McCuskey, 24-47.
[485] Will S. Monroe, *History of the Pestalozzian Movement in the United States*. (New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1969. Originally published in 1907), 18.

experience.[486] Rejecting the written word, Pestalozzi opted for teaching in the open air where the students could observe the natural world around them.[487] For Pestalozzi, education was about developing the child, not delivering the content on an academic subject. The classroom should be geared toward the development of the student's observational skills and educational progress should be marked by psychological and intellectual development that built upon the student's innate skills.[488] Although Alcott was not specifically trained in Pestalozzian methods, his style was so similar in aims and practices that Englishman James Pierrepont Greaves, a student of the Swiss educator and one of the first translators of his work, referred to Alcott as the "American Pestalozzi" and in the 1830's founded a Pestalozzian school in England and named it the Alcott House.[489]

After teaching in Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts, Bronson Alcott opened the Temple School in Boston in September 1834. Alcott collaborated in this endeavor with a woman who would become one the most important figures in nineteenth century education, Elizabeth Palmer Peabody. Peabody grew up in Salem, Massachusetts and in 1819 had been swept into the Unitarian shift that began to see children as innocent and education as a means to improve and enjoy life.[490] By 1821, she was teaching at her family run school in Lancaster, Massachusetts where she first discovered Pestalozzian

[486] Monroe, 85.
[487] Monroe, 36.
[488] Francis, 16.
[489] Monroe, 33, 155.
[490] Megan Marshall, *The Peabody Sisters: Three Women who Ignited American Romanticism*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2005), 94.

methods.[491] In 1825, she moved to Brookline where she ran a school for the wealthy families in Cottage Farm.[492] Adopting the Socratic Method as her teaching style, Peabody worked to develop the character and critical thinking skills of her students.[493] For her, this method allowed her students to sharpen their personal intuition of the divine, and therefore draw closer to the unifying force of nature.[494] In 1830, she met Bronson Alcott and in 1834 when she learned that he was attempting to start a school, she jumped in to help him, first endorsing it publically and then signing on as a member of his faculty.[495] Peabody was drawn to Alcott's use of the Socratic Method and shortly after the school opened she assumed the role of Plato to Alcott's Socrates by recording the interactions of teacher and student within the Temple School.

The result of Peabody's work was the 1835 publication *Record of a School*, a text which launched the public career of Bronson Alcott. In *Record of a School*, Peabody captured the open communication between teacher and student central to the classroom experience of the Temple School. The co-educational school served children aged three to twelve, who hailed from Unitarian, Calvinist, Baptist, Swedenborgian, Episcopalian, Methodist, and Universalist families, representing one of the most diverse classrooms in American education.[496] For the new school, Alcott incorporated his rejection of corporal punishment, his use of art to inspire, and his incorporation of the Socratic Method to

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[491] Marshall, 104-106.
[492] Louise Hall Tharp, *The Peabody Sisters of Salem*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1950), 35.
[493] Marshall, 175.
[494] Marshall, 278.
[495] Tharp, 50-51, 93.
[496] McCuskey, 84; Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, *Record of a School*. (New York: Arno Press & The New York Times, 1969. Originally published 1836), xiii.

develop the character of his students. As Peabody described Alcott's approach, the teacher would begin a lesson by asking the children about the meanings of particular words, looking for examples and what made them the common expressions of ideas, always driving toward the goal of arousing the minds of students.[497] In developing the morality of his students, he focused on the "common conscience" not the "private conscience", stressing the importance of one's individual duty and responsibility to community. This was Alcott's primary goal in the classroom.[498] He taught the students to sketch elements of the natural world in order to sharpen their observational skills, use journal writing to connect their own personal observations to the outer world, and read passages from the Bible and *Pilgrim's Progress* followed by discussions so they would discern the deeper moral lessons.[499] Peabody's *Record of a School* made Alcott famous and it drew the attention of Emerson who invited the Alcotts to visit him in Concord, beginning one of the most important relationships of Alcott's life.[500] Peabody's account of Alcott's teaching served as evidence of the Transcendental theories that Emerson was crystalizing in his soon to be published book *Nature.*[501] In Concord, Alcott told Emerson of his upcoming sequel, *Conversations with Children on the Gospels* and how it would allow the teacher to step into the religious debates of Boston, but the book would be the undoing of both his relationship with Peabody and the Temple School itself.[502]

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[497] Peabody, vi.
[498] Peabody, xiv-xvii.
[499] Peabody, xxi, xxvi, xxviii, and 19.
[500] Francis, 20-21.
[501] Marshall, 316.
[502] Francis, 21.

Initially, Elizabeth Peabody took the role of author for the second account of the Temple School, but the School Master wanted a firmer hand in this second publication. Particularly he wanted to include more controversial sections regarding religion and conception. Peabody was rightfully concerned about Alcott's details and was critical of him, sparking a conflict that grew so personal that the Alcott's changed the name of their young daughter from Elizabeth Peabody Alcott to Elizabeth Sewell Alcott.[503] Peabody left the school over the conflict, seeing her predictions realized when *Conversations with Children on the Gospels* set off a firestorm within Boston. Alcott managed to offend nearly everyone in the city: religious conservatives were furious at his theology; liberals feared they would be associated with him; and academics were enraged at this self-educated teacher who dared to teach religion without attending to proper scholarship. Andrews Norton of Harvard called his work "one third absurd, one third blasphemous, and one third obscene" and the *Boston Courier* called for him to be arrested and charged with blasphemy.[504] His enrollment dropped dramatically but he limped on until he accepted an African-American girl as a student. This was the last straw for Bostonians: his enrollment dropped to five students, three of which were his own children.[505] By the spring of 1838, the Temple School was closed.

After the failure of his school, Emerson paid for Alcott to travel to England in order to observe the school named in his honor. Upon his return he began another educational experiment, the utopian community of Fruitlands which lasted less than a

[503] Francis, 28.
[504] Capper, 198.
[505] McCuskey, 111.

year. Alcott returned to Concord and served as Superintendent of Concord Public Schools from 1859-1864, coordinating the teachers and community resources and sitting in on classes although not taking a teaching role.[506] He continued to lecture and promote Transcendental education across New England and as far west as Iowa well into his 80's.[507] But regardless of his popularity and success, most historians view Alcott as a failure, a man of brilliant ideas but little practical understanding of the world, whose only great success was fathering one of the most important authors of the nineteenth century, Louisa May Alcott.

Elizabeth Peabody turned her attention to business and creating a space for intellectual expression in Boston. In 1840 she opened a book store that became the central gathering place for Transcendentalists and other intellectuals in Boston. She organized a subscription library out of the store and started a publishing house as well, including publishing Hawthorne's early children's books and the Transcendentalist newspaper *The Dial*.[508] In 1870, Elizabeth Peabody established the first free public kindergarten in America, importing the German early learning program whose focus on direct primary experience and object lessons carried over the trends that had been central to Transcendental pedagogy since the 1830s.[509] When she died in 1894, she was the last remaining member of the original generation of Transcendentalists. Widely regarded as

[506] McCuskey, 147-149.
[507] McCuskey, 144; Buell, *Literary Transcendentalism*, 82.
[508] Marshall, 391-396, 424; Tharp, 142.
[509] Tharp, 324.

the founder the American Kindergarten movement, she became the namesake of the Elizabeth Peabody House, a Settlement House in Somerville, Massachusetts.[510]

Closely entwined in the story of the Temple School and the work of Bronson Alcott and Elizabeth Peabody, was Margaret Fuller. Fuller moved to Boston from Groton, Massachusetts in October 1836 to open a school for women in German, Italian, and French Literature, trying to deliver a college level of education to women who were still denied college admission.[511] But when Peabody left the Temple School, Alcott needed a replacement and hired Fuller. She had first met Alcott while she was staying at the Emerson House, and she was interested in his innovative classroom methods.[512] At the Temple School, Fuller studied and practiced Alcottian Socratic Method and her intellectual abilities and personal daring impressed the School Master.[513] But the teaching schedule left little time for the writing that Fuller hoped to make a profession, and as Alcott was inconsistent in paying his faculty, Fuller decided to leave the Temple School in the spring. After returning to Groton, she was approached by Hiram Fuller (no relation) who was starting a school in Providence, Rhode Island based on the methods of the Temple School. He offered her $1000 per year, more than three times what a female teacher would normally make, and she packed her bags and went back to the classroom.[514]

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[510] Marshall, 452. Her tradition of innovation and connection of children to reflective experiential learning continued in 1916, when the Elizabeth Peabody House started running a summer camp for the children of Somerville.
[511] Capper, 190.
[512] Capper, 196.
[513] Capper 197.
[514] Capper, 204.

The Green Street School in Providence opened its doors in the summer of 1837 with an address given by Ralph Waldo Emerson. Still a year ahead of his delivery of The American Scholar, Emerson touched on the ideals of a Transcendental education and the political turmoil sparked by Bronson Alcott in Boston. Emerson declared: "A desperate conservatism clings with both hands to every dead form in the schools, in the state, in the church. A timid political tithe-paying and churchgoing zeal takes the place of religion. That utter unbelief which is afraid of change, afraid of thought, supervenes."[515] He continued by urging the teachers to develop self-trust within his students as well as a deeper understanding of the symbolic nature of life so that their students could reverse this trend.[516]

Students at the Green Street School kept journals and did not have to face the fear of corporal punishment. Margaret Fuller deepened her practice of Socratic Method while Hiram Fuller read sections of *Conversations with Children on the Gospels* as if they were scripture. But the School Master of Green Street lacked the passion and depth of Bronson Alcott. He did not push Socratic Method to the extent it was used in the Temple School and his approach struck Margaret as rather superficial. Hiram Fuller's plan was to operate the school for a few years, make a profit, then get out of the school and move to Europe. For him the school was a business and the students were not necessarily at the center of its mission.[517]

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[515] Capper, 206.
[516] Capper, 207.
[517] Capper, 209-211.

But the lack of depth at the top did not dampen Margaret Fuller's pedagogic experimentation with Socratic Method. Her objectives were always to get her male and female students to think, not just study and recite. She kept her lessons short so that more time could be spent on conversation and the expression of original thought. She urged students to keep journals as a means to develop their voice and ability to communicate their own ideas. As her student Anna Gale said of her style, school work "would lay upon our minds, like a dry husk, unless they take root sufficiently deep, to produce one little thought of our own, something entirely original."[518] Although she was not impressed by the cultural sophistication of Providence, and she felt stifled in her writing by her teaching demands, Fuller was able to deliver a number of papers to the Coliseum Club of Providence including one in April 1838 that articulated her perspectives on education. With the statement "Man is not a vessel into which you can pour at will your golden wine; he is like a plant, and nothing that he cannot assimilate is of value to him," Fuller underscored the importance of context in learning, a context which presumably came from primary experience. And her faith in reflective thought was illustrated by the observation that "the materials for thinking can only be valuable in proportion as the mind is trained to think."[519]

Following a deeper historical trend that linked their methods to Socrates, the practices at Green Street School sparked controversy just as they had in Boston. Fearing that the school was teaching heresy, a group of Providence Calvinists decided to set up a

[518] Capper, 231.
[519] Capper 243.

competing school to oppose the practices of Hiram Fuller. As enrollments declined and disciplinary problems became rampant, the School Master decided to close the school in 1839 and Margaret Fuller returned to Boston.[520] In August 1839, Bronson Alcott approached Margaret Fuller with another idea, the possibility of her leading a series of Conversations with women in Boston.[521] With the advent of Conversations, the Socratic Method reached a new audience.

Conversation Clubs were all the rage in Boston during this time. They were a combination of education, entertainment, and fine art.[522] Elizabeth Peabody had pioneered this approach of a facilitated, Socratic discussion for adult education as early as 1831.[523] Fuller's objective was to advance this art to a profession, charging participants and earning a living from facilitating Conversations. She appealed to circles of women who were looking for the next level of educative discourse. These women were all graduates of elite women's private schools, multilingual, well-read, Unitarian, well off, and often involved with reform movements including education and abolition.[524] The meetings were held at Elizabeth Peabody's bookstore and women paid $10 each for the two hour, thirteen-week series. They became so popular that they were held on both Wednesdays and Thursdays throughout the winter and spring for five years, eventually involving 100 women in the city.[525] Fuller used these conversations as a tool to develop self-culture, allowing women to discover and express themselves. She read and reread

[520] Capper, 249.
[521] Capper, 290.
[522] Buell, *Literary Transcendentalism*, 78.
[523] Marshall, 386.
[524] Capper, 291.
[525] Capper, 293.

Plato in order to prepare for the Socratic Conversations, and like the ancient Greek, her goal was not to teach, but to draw out the thoughts of others.[526] Peabody wanted her book store to be something different, a place where ideas were exchanged as much as books. Fuller's Conversations fit that vision, as did the reading parties and historical conferences that Peabody organized and invited into the store.[527] For that reason, George Ripley approached Peabody about hosting a conversation at the book store about his idea of forming a Transcendental Utopia on the outskirts of Boston, a community focused on connecting intellectuals with agriculture and cultivating both the land and minds of Boston's youth.

Brook Farm was the closest thing to summer camp and comprehensive outdoor education that the Transcendentalists ever created. Designed to be a utopian community, a refuge from the competitive market-driven economy transforming New England life, Brook Farm's educational programs wove together Transcendental idealism with a close connection to the land and the natural world. Located on a farm west of Boston, Brook Farm was a community of young people and children, working and playing together, studying art and nature, meeting regularly with distinguished visitors, but yet living only a short walk from town. Theirs was not a wilderness community, but it was a community set apart from the urban world and one where the natural world was the most important text book. To quote Brook Farmer Marianne Dwight, "It is far better than civilization, it is true; still it is the ideal which animates us to labor that makes life here so full of

[526] Capper, 296. The use of Socratic Dialogs, specifically *Meno* and *Theaetetus*, are still used as a means to train outdoor education facilitators to a great extent because of the work of Dr. Jasper Hunt at Minnesota State University-Mankato.
[527] Capper, 294.

interest. We have hope and love and faith, shedding down upon us their sweet inspiring light from a higher world, and perhaps gliding into our hearts more than ever before."[528] But this ideal community would be short lived, ending in flames and economic collapse before being resurrected through the pen of another Brook Farmer, Nathaniel Hawthorne.

The driving force behind Brook Farm was George Ripley, a Unitarian Minister and member of Emerson's Transcendentalist Club. As Alcott's Temple School was collapsing under public criticism, Ripley and Emerson started discussing the idea of a Transcendentalist university, possibly located in Concord.[529] But Ripley's idea, informed by his Conversations at Elizabeth Peabody's Bookshop, transformed into something else. In a letter to Emerson, Ripley described:

> Our objects, as you know, are to insure a more natural union between intellectual and manual labor than now exists; to combine the thinker and the worker, as far as possible, in the same individual; to guarantee the highest mental freedom, by providing all with labor, adapting to their tastes and talents, and securing to them the fruits of their industry; to do away the necessity of menial services, by opening the benefits of education and the profits of labor to all; and thus to prepare a society of liberal, intelligent, and cultivated persons, whose relations with each other would permit a more simple and wholesome life, than can be led amidst the pressure of our competitive institutions.
>
> To accomplish these objects, we propose to take a small tract of land, which, under skillful husbandry, uniting the garden and the farm, will be adequate to the subsistence of the families; and to connect with this a school or college, in which the most complete instruction shall be given, from the first rudiments to the highest culture. Our farm would be a place for improving the race of men that lived on it; thought would preside over the operations of labor and labor would contribute to the expansion of

[528] Marianne Dwight, *Letters from Brook Farm, 1844-1847.* (Poughkeepsie, New York: Vassar College, 1928), 113.
[529] Sterling F. Delano, *Brook Farm: The Dark Side of Utopia*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknapp Press of Harvard University, 2004), Fn 399.

> thought; we should have industry without drudgery and true equality without its vulgarity.[530]

Ripley wanted to create a City of God on Earth, a farm and school where residents and students could live apart from the world and, by living in a more natural state, be able to reform the world. Ripley stepped down from his pulpit and in May 1841, he and a small group of 13 moved to a small farm in West Roxbury, Massachusetts.[531]

Although the community of Brook Farm was engaged in various industries in addition to agriculture, the most important and successful project was its school. The curriculum of the Brook Farm school was designed to heal the man-nature divide and its syllabus included intellectual and natural philosophy, mathematics, Latin, Greek, German, music, and history as well as a physical component with theoretical and practical agriculture and as much as 2 hours per day of manual labor. The teachers all switched from farm work to teaching throughout the day, including Ripley himself who shifted from teaching philosophy to milking cows. This duality of roles was done in order to make all labor honorable, to promote a more democratic equality where the artists and elites got their hands dirty while also providing working class members of the community the opportunity for intellectual and artistic expression.[532] The vision of the school provided a liberal education to young people, regardless of whether they planned on entering the learned professions. By 1844 Brook Farmers set the goal of allowing all children, regardless of social or financial background, the opportunity to learn at Brook

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[530] Letter from George Ripley to Ralph Waldo Emerson, Boston, November 8, 1840 in Henry W. Sams, ed. *Autobiography of Brook Farm*. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1958), 6.
[531] Richard Francis, *Transcendental Utopias: Individual and Community at Brook Farm, Fruitlands, and Walden*. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1997), 1841.
[532] Francis, 45-47.

Farm, allowing older children to work off their tuition on the farm.[533] Because of its bold ideals, notoriety, and proximity to Boston, Brook Farm became a popular tourist destination, drawing over 4000 visitors annually at its peak.[534] Although the Brook Farmers intended on living apart from society, they were certainly making an impact on the minds of their larger community.

In many ways, the Brook Farm school was the prototype of the classic New England boarding school, with the exception of being more socially inclusive.[535] But even with its egalitarian ideals, the school enrolled members of a number of New England's most prominent families. In 1842 there were thirty students including Margaret Fuller's little brother, Ralph Waldo Emerson's nephew, Charles Sumner's little brother, and a young Robert Gould Shaw, who would later command the 54th Massachusetts Regiment in the Civil War.[536] The course of instruction was broken down into three main programs: the infant program for children under 6, primary school for ages 6-10, and a preparatory program that cultivated students for college admission over the course of six years. This last program was endorsed by Harvard College, due in no small part to the academic pedigree of the Brook Farm faculty. In 1844, the school opened a fourth program, a day nursery which may have been the first of its kind in the United States.[537] The school also operated an evening program for adults that was the

[533] Delano, 41; Francis, 95.
[534] Delano, 52.
[535] Delano, 79.
[536] Delano, 80.
[537] Delano, 80-81.

most diversified adult education program in antebellum America.[538] Conversations, led by Margaret Fuller herself, also were held at Brook Farm as well.[539] Although a structure affectionately named "The Nest" served as an academic building, classes were often taught outside, on walks, in the fields, under a tree, or wherever the teachable moment appeared. For the Brook Farmers, the whole natural world was a classroom.

In her article for *The Dial*, Elizabeth Peabody observed that the farm was an Embryo University, staffed by experienced teachers who had been liberated by the restrictions of law and custom in order to focus on the pupils and to design lessons that best fit the course material. By empowering teachers, the classroom was able to become more student centered and lessons could be focused on the experiences at hand. The interdisciplinary nature of scientific agriculture allowed students to study natural science, mathematics, and accounting, while also learning a trade. Her hope was that not only would this school be able to serve the students of Boston, but also that it would become a Normal School, training teachers to replicate this experience beyond the boundaries of Brook Farm.[540] Henry James later described the community at Brook Farm in all its idealist glory: "All this sounds delightfully Arcadian and innocent, and it is certain that there was something peculiar to the clime and race in some of the features of such a life; in the free, frank, and stainless companionship of young men and maidens, in the mixture of manual labour and intellectual flights – dish-washing and aesthetics, wood-chopping

[538] Delano, 81.
[539] Henry James, *Hawthorne*. (Ithaca, New York: Great Seal Books, 1963. Originally published in 1879), 71.
[540] Elizabeth P. Peabody, "Plan of the West Roxbury Community" in *The Dial*, II (January, 1842), 361-372 in Henry W. Sams, ed. *Autobiography of Brook Farm*. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1958), 62-72.

and philosophy. Wordsworth's 'plain living and high thinking' made actual."[541] But, like the Temple School and Green Street School, this experiment in Transcendentalist education was also short lived. As Ripley and the Brook Farmers reached for the next stage in their development as a community, their dreams turned to ashes around them.

By 1844, Brook Farm was experiencing financial constraints. Ripley and others were drawn to the Fourierist Movement, based on the socialist utopian philosophies of Charles Fourier. By aligning with the Fourierist movement, Brook Farm would be able to associate itself with a network of other communities and could likely draw in more financial support. Fourier's beliefs that individuals had a personal and unique attraction to vocation and that human nature was not depraved resonated with the Transcendentalists' values and so Brook Farm reorganized its mission and became a Fourierist Phalanx.[542] The move helped to position Brook Farm as a national leader in social reform rather than an experiment in rugged communalism, but it also disillusioned a number of the Transcendentalists within and beyond the farm. Rumors of sexual impropriety at the school began to surface primarily based on interpretations of Fourier's theories.[543] Then an outbreak of smallpox struck the community in 1845, causing a dramatic drop in academic enrollment as parents pulled their children from the school.[544] As the community soldiered on, they invested their scarce resources into a single major building that would be the new center to their community, a large structure called the Phalanstery that combined living and community spaces with classrooms and work space.

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[541] James, 70.
[542] Delano, 141-148.
[543] Francis, *Transcendental Utopia*, 135.
[544] Delano, 319.

But on the evening of March 3, 1846, a fire swept through the nearly completed building. Despite the efforts of the Farmers and local community members, the building was a total loss. In true artistic and idealistic Transcendental fashion, Marianne Dwight described the scene the following morning:

> I threw on my cloak and rushed out to mingle with the people. All were still, calm, resolute, undaunted. The expression on every face seemed to me sublime. There was a solemn, serious, reverential feeling, such as must come when we are forced to feel that human aid is of no avail, and that a higher power than man's is at work. I heard solemn words of trust, cheerful words of encouragement, of resignation, of gratitude and thankfulness, but not one of terror or despair. All were absorbed in the glory and sublimity of the scene. . . . It seemed like a magnificent temple of molten gold, or a crystalized fire. Then the beams began to fall, and one after another the chimneys. . . . In less than an hour and a half the whole was leveled to the ground. The Phalanstery was finished! Not the building alone, but the scenery around was grand. The smoke as it settled off the horizon, gave the effect of sublime mountain scenery; and during the burning, the trees, the woods shone magically to their minutest twigs, in lead, silver and gold. As it was to be, I would not have missed it for the world.[545]

Uninsured, the loss of their investment in the Phalanstery was more than the community could withstand. The community lingered on for another year, but by March 1847 the stockholders and creditors of the Phalanx agreed to end the project and rent out the farm land.[546] Ripley and a number of other leaders in the community maintained their work in publishing the *Harbinger*, the Fourierist newspaper for a number of years after, but the dream of Brook Farm was dead.

Transcendental Pedagogy on the Printed Page

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[545] Letter from Marianne Dwight to Anna Parsons, Brook Farm, 4 March 1846 in Henry Sams, *Autobiography of Brook Farm*. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1958), 167.
[546] Sams, 201.

Although many of the Transcendentalists assumed the vocation of classroom teacher at some point in their careers, it was through the written word that they made their greatest impact. As a movement, the Transcendentalists had a tremendous impact on nineteenth century arts and letters, fuelling the American literary renaissance.[547] Through their essays, articles, and books, the Transcendentalists continued to develop the importance of direct primary experience, specifically with the natural world, and reflection as the most trusted route to knowledge. In the literary expeditions of Margaret Fuller and Henry David Thoreau, readers followed in the reflective and intellectual footprints of learning in the wilderness. In Hawthorne's utopian community of Blithedale, Brook Farm was resurrected. In the children's books of Christopher Pearse Cranch a younger generation discovered the Transcendental ideals. But the most important author to translate Transcendentalism's pedagogic experiments into literary immortality was Louisa May Alcott, who transformed her father's ideals into the ideal classroom for *Little Men* and *Jo's Boys*.

With the rising popularity of Romanticism in the United States and Europe came the popularity of the travel narrative as a literary form.[548] This form differed from the tour books of the period, which provided specific details that allowed readers to follow in the physical footsteps of the author, visiting the same establishments and tourist destinations.[549] The travel narrative, as embraced by the Transcendentalists, modeled the intellectual and spiritual journey more than the physical path. For Thoreau, who is most

[547] F.O. Matthiessen, *American Renaissance: Art and Expression in the Age of Emerson and Whitman*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968); Buell, *Literary Transcendentalism*.
[548] Buell, *Literary Transcendentalism*, 190.
[549] Discussed in Chapter 3.

closely identified with this romantic excursion approach, the heart of the narrative was a series of confrontations with nature, each revealing specific lessons and drawing out greater wisdom from within.[550] *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* (1849), *Walden* (1854), *The Maine Woods* (1864), and "Walking" (1861) as well as Margaret Fuller's *Summer on the Lakes* (1844) model a process of personal cultivation and education through travel and experience. In going into the wild on the pages of their books, Thoreau and Fuller modeled the learning process for the expeditions of later outdoor education programs.

Thoreau's first long form attempt at the literary romantic excursion was *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* (1849). The book ostensibly documents the adventures of Thoreau and his brother on a river trip in 1839 from Concord, Massachusetts to Concord, New Hampshire but his literary structure, organizing the text in the form of a week, veers from the two weeks of the actual trip. This allowed Thoreau to place the spiritual and experiential reflections and lessons above the factual details. In one of the richest accounts in the text , Thoreau camps above the clouds on the summit of Mount Greylock, basking in the bright sunlight and separated from the earth by an ocean of clouds. That Greylock is located in the Berkshires of western Massachusetts, ninety miles west of Concord is of little importance to the literary adventure in Thoreau's tale. The book was a commercial failure and left Thoreau in debt, but it laid set a pattern that he would improve on in his next major work, *Walden*.

[550] Buell, *Literary Transcendentalism*, 202.

In *Walden*, published in 1854, Thoreau sets up a summer camp of one, living away from society in a cabin on the shores of Concord's Walden Pond. By removing himself and drawing closer to nature, Thoreau wanted to reinforce his ideals with action, much like Emerson argued in the American Scholar. "To be a philosopher is not merely to have subtle thoughts, nor even to found a school, but so to love wisdom as to live according to its dictates, a life of simplicity, independence, magnanimity, and trust. It is to solve some of the problems of life, not only theoretically, but practically."[551] To practically solve these problems, Thoreau spent a significant portion of two years living in his cabin. In writing *Walden*, he compressed time much as he had for *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*, allowing readers to follow his reflections and intellectual insights into the universal rather than following his physical actions like a tourist with a guide book. Thoreau lamented how the daily habits of society and civilization had severed humanity's connection to the divine. "We no longer camp as for a night, but have settled down on earth and forgotten heaven. . . . a taste for the beautiful is most cultivated out of doors, where there is no house and no house-keeper."[552]

Thoreau's adventure on the shores of Walden Pond serve as an expression of his affinity for practical experiential knowledge over the theoretical content instructed in schools. Thoreau was critical of playing at or studying life rather than actually living it, providing the example of a young boy who would study chemistry, but not know how to make bread or one who made his own jack knife by digging and smelting the ore as

[551] Henry David Thoreau, *Walden* in William Rossi, ed. *Walden, Civil Disobedience, and Other Writings*. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2008), 13.
[552] Thoreau, *Walden*, 29.

opposed to one who attended a lecture on metallurgy and then received a knife from his father.[553] As he remarked: "To my astonishment I was informed on leaving college that I had studied navigation! – why, if I had taken one turn down the harbor I should have known more about it."[554] For Thoreau, experiential education was the only true education. When he sought to suck out the marrow of life, that marrow was an education from direct and personal experience.

Thoreau's *The Maine Woods,* published posthumously in 1864, lays out a narrative rich with paddling adventures, close contact with lumbermen, Native Americans, and moose, as well as the experience of the sublime on the summit of Mount K'taadn. Critical of the hunters who often followed similar paths, Thoreau's quest is spiritual, divine, and anchored in the wilderness experience. His description of K'taadn was draped in classical imagery, making it a modern, yet timeless, North American Olympus, a place where man could find contact with the abode of the gods. "I most fully realized that this was primeval, untamed, and forever untamable *Nature*, or what else men call it."[555] The discovery of the sublime was the real treasure and purpose of his adventure in Maine, observing:

> We have not seen pure Nature, unless we have seen her thus vast and drear and inhuman, though in the midst of cities. Nature was here something savage and awful, though beautiful. I looked with awe at the ground I trod on, to see what the Powers had made there, the form and fashion and material of their work. This was the Earth of which we have heard, made out of Chaos and Old Night. Here was no man's garden, but the

[553] Thoreau, *Walden*, 38-39.
[554] Thoreau, Walden, 39.
[555] Henry David Thoreau, *The Maine Woods*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1893. Originally published in 1864), 93.

> unhandseled globe. It was not lawn, nor pasture, nor mead, nor woodland, nor lea, nor arable, nor waste land. It was the fresh and natural surface of the planet Earth, as it was made forever and ever. . . . There was clearly felt the presence of a force not bound to be kind to man. It was a place for heathenism and superstitious rites, - to be inhabited by men nearer of kin to the rocks and to wild animals than we.[556]

In Thoreau's personal accounts of his wilderness adventures, he articulated the relationship with the sublime that the fictional characters of Cooper and Hawthorne had suggested decades before.

Although Thoreau is most often identified as the Transcendentalist who went into the wild, Margaret Fuller travelled much deeper into the wilderness (and did so earlier) for her book *Summer on the Lakes* than Thoreau ever did. Fuller's journey followed the pattern of the Romantic excursion by providing few specific details for later tourists, but offered a significant poetic and romantic framing of the wilderness experience for those seekers who look to engage the landscape in whatever wilderness they find themselves. To prepare for her experience, she followed a literary regimen, reading Cooper to prepare for her interactions with the Native Americans of the West.[557] Her descriptions of the landscape constructed a modern day Eden, the unique province that was the birthright of Americans. Celebrating the 4th of July on a river bluff alight with a multitude of wildflowers she wrote "I had never felt so happy that I was born in America. . . . I do believe Rome and Florence are suburbs compared to this capital of Nature's art."[558]

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[556] Thoreau, *The Maine Woods*, 94-95.
[557] Margaret Fuller Ossoli, *Summer on the Lakes*. (New York: Haskell House Publishers, Ltd., 1970. Originally published 1844), 24.
[558] Ossoli, *Summer on the Lakes*, 40.

The unique landscape of the west provided children with a fantastic opportunity to learn, but that was too often corrupted by parents who wished to imitate the models of Europe, awkwardly transplanted into the wilds. Fuller observed that although life on the frontier was hard, it was made harder on the women who immigrated there from the east because "a city education has imparted neither the strength nor skill now demanded."[559] She hoped that the girls who grew up in the west would develop "the strength of body, dexterity, simple tastes, and resources that would fit them to enjoy and refine the Western farmer's life"[560] but that mothers tried too hard to force them into an eastern or European model. As an example, she noted the inappropriateness of the piano as an instrument for the frontier, heavy, bulky, and difficult to tune. Such an instrument may be fine in the cities of the east, but a guitar was much more useful in the west, light portable, and easily maintained by the amateur musician.[561] What was worse, Fuller met with a number of parents who wanted their children to return to the east for schooling, rather than grounding their education in the landscape of the west. The result, feared Fuller, would be girls whose education made them "useless and unhappy at home."[562] They would be much better off if they developed their own physical fitness and environmental awareness so as to enjoy the woods and streams of their homes.

Her respect for this education based in the landscape of wilderness was personified by a nameless friend whom she described as "one of those rare beings who are equally at home in nature and with man. He knew a tale of all that ran and swam and

[559] Ossoli, *Summer on the Lakes,* 46.
[560] Ossoli, *Summer on the Lakes,* 46.
[561] Ossoli, *Summer on the Lakes,* 48.
[562] Ossoli, *Summer on the Lakes, 47.*

flew."[563] This friend possessed a "strong and gentle mind" that appreciated a common life that was both "unstudied lore" and "unwritten poetry." She saw his character as "a great contrast to the subtleties of analysis, the philosophic strainings of which I had seen too much. But I will not attempt to transplant it. May it profit others as it did me in the region where it was born, where it belongs."[564]

Like Thoreau, the moral lesson that emerges from Fuller's Romantic excursion into the west was the need for people to break from their regular lives, to realize there was more to life than work, and to seek experience for themselves first hand. For her, reading James Fenimore Cooper may have been enjoyable, but her experience was not complete or real until she personally shot the whitewater rapids in a canoe with two Native Americans. That physical experience made the learning and the understanding much richer and more significant, while also building an appreciation for the American landscape as a source of identity. On her journey she faced risks, but the only way to discover truth was to go out and take those risks.

> Climb you that snowy peaks whence come the streams, where the atmosphere is rare, where you can see the sky nearer, from which you can get a commanding view of the landscape? I see great disadvantages as well as advantages in this dignified position. I had rather walk myself through all kinds of places, even at the risk of being robbed in the forest, half drowned at the ford, and covered with dust in the street.
>
> I would beat with the living heart of the world, and understand all the moods, even the fancies or fantasies, of nature. I dare to trust the

[563] Ossoli, *Summer on the Lakes*, 50.
[564] Ossoli, *Summer on the Lakes*, 50.

> interpreting spirit to bring me out all right at last, -- establishing truth through error.[565]

Like Thoreau's manifesto on the need to "live deliberately", Margaret Fuller saw the best learning as that which was done through experience. For both Thoreau and Fuller, the literary expedition was a vehicle to underscore the importance of developing the individual, strengthening one's personal authority and authenticity through experiencing the natural world. But other authors saw a stronger community as the goal of their literary Transcendentalism.

Just as personal experience formed the basis of Fuller's and Thoreau's literary wilderness expeditions, so too did the experience of Brook Farm inspire Nathaniel Hawthorne to write *The Blithedale Romance* in 1852. Although not a Transcendentalist, his life was closely intertwined with their community. From April to November 1841, Hawthorne lived and worked at Brook Farm attempting to save enough money to marry his sweetheart, Sophia Peabody, sister of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody.[566] On their wedding night, the Hawthornes moved into the home they rented in Concord, the Old Manse, the ancestral home of the Emerson family where Nathaniel would take as his study the room where Ralph Waldo Emerson had started writing *Nature*. In writing *The Blithedale Romance*, Hawthorne captured the lasting impression of the Transcendentalist community, even if many Brook Farmers did not see it as an accurate reflection.[567] But it

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[565] Ossoli, *Summer on the Lakes*, 74.
[566] Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Blithedale Romance*. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1978. Originally published 1852), 1.
[567] James, *Nathaniel Hawthorne*. 61.

did capture the ideals of Transcendentalism as it pertained to youth development and an education close to the natural world.

Through the character of Priscilla, the street urchin is transformed by a change in the environment. Leaving the artificiality of urban life and engaging a life close to nature, she quickly grows healthier, stronger, and more beautiful. Even an adult like Miles Coverdale, the central character, is restored to health when he retreats to Blithedale, finding inspiration in his walks in the woods. As Hawthorne's narrator explains: "Thus Nature, whose laws I had broken in various artificial ways, comported herself towards me as a strict, but loving mother, who uses the rod upon her little boy for his naughtiness, and then gives him a smile, a kiss, and some pretty playthings, to console the urchin for her severity."[568] The Unpardonable Sin, the concept central to *Ethan Brand*, returns to inflict damage upon the utopian community for choosing selfishness over rugged communalism.[569] And the recurring image of the veil, separating the experience of life at Blithedale from reality like a dream, suggests the temporary nature of utopia, whether it be in the form of the Transcendental classroom experiments, Bunyan's dream in *Pilgrim's Progress*, or the seasonal nature of summer camp. Short lived, but immensely valuable, Hawthorne said of Brook Farm that it was "certainly the most romantic episode of his own life – essentially a day-dream, and yet a fact – and thus offering an available foothold between fiction and reality."[570] The faith that short but intense experiences close to nature could have transformational impact on one's life, be it

[568] Hawthorne, *The Blithedale Romance*, 57.
[569] See Chapter 3: From Canvas to Campfire.
[570] Hawthorne, *The Blithedale Romance*, 2.

at Walden or Brook Farm, supported the belief that providing children with experiences in the natural world would inoculate them and leave them with lasting benefits even when they returned to the city.

Hawthorne's children's books were also inspired in part by periods of living close to the natural world. Both *A Wonder-Book for Girls and Boys* (1851) and *Tanglewood Tales* (1853) were set in the Berkshire town of Lenox, where he and Sophia lived at Tanglewood.[571] One of Hawthorne's houseguests in Tanglewood was Christopher Pearse Cranch, a Unitarian minister turned Transcendentalist landscape painter who also published a number of children's books.[572] Cranch's fantastical tales *The Last of the Huggermuggers* and the sequel *Kobboltozo* stressed for children the importance of community and the consequences of greed and ambition. Cranch's hero, Jacky Cable, was "a smart Yankee lad, and always remarkable for his dislike of staying at home, and a love of lounging upon the wharves, where the sailors used to tell him stories about sea-life."[573] Although not a good student in school, Jacky's wit and observational skills provided him with the skills he needed to succeed and survive the challenges and dangers of shipwrecks, giants, and various other dangers. The allegory of Cranch's work was not based on the character of its hero, but rather the fantastical experiences on the island of the Huggermuggers.

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[571] Discussed in Chapter 4: Street Arab to Barefoot Boy
[572] F. DeWolfe Miller, *Christopher Pearse Cranch and His Caricatures of New England Transcendentalism*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1951).
[573] Christopher Pearse Cranch, *The Last of the Huggermuggers, A Giant Story*. (Boston: Mayhew & Baker, 1860), 1.

In the first book of the series, Jacky is shipwrecked on a mysterious island where he must escape from the home of two giants known as the Huggermuggers. After being rescued, he shares his story with one of P.T. Barnum's agents who immediately plans to return to the island in a scheme to bring the giants back to Barnum's museum. Agreeing to help, Jacky convinces the agent that the giants could be persuaded to return rather than resorting to violence. When Jacky and the others meet the giants, they are overwhelmed by their generosity and hospitality, nothing like they had expected from fairy tales and legends of giants. Mr. and Mrs. Huggermugger entertain the idea of going to America, but decide to stay, until Mrs. Huggermugger falls ill and dies. Heartbroken and aware of being the last of his kind, Huggermugger agrees to sail to America. Before reaching New York, Huggermugger realizes that fame and fortune are worthless without his beloved wife, and he too dies of melancholy. His remains arrive in Barnum's Museum, where they are mislabeled as the bones of a Giant Mastodon.[574] Cranch's tale stressed the importance of relationships over fortune, a central value associated with the wilderness landscape and the Transcendentalist ideal. As a landscape painter Cranch's visual creations also associated the importance of personal relationships with the wilderness environment. *Sunset Landscape* (Figure 5.1) stressed this connection with two paddlers together in a single boat immersed in the divine reflection of wilderness. The value created here was not through financial fortune, but through the humble experiences had together in the wild.

[574] Cranch, *Last of the Huggermuggers*, 69.

Cranch's sequel, *Kobboltozo*, follows the descent into ruin that occurred on the island after the Huggermuggers died and their virtues of love and dedication to others was removed from the social system of the island. In the first story, Jacky learns of the history of the giants from a dwarf cobbler named Kobboltozo. Jacky discovers that the giants were once normal sized, but happened upon a specific shellfish that caused them to grow to enormous proportions. Kobboltozo detests the Huggermuggers because:

> They are rich – I am poor. They are big and well-formed – I am little and crooked. Why should not my race grow to be as shapely and as large as they; for *my* ancestors were as good as theirs, and I have heard that they possessed the island before the Huggermuggers. I have more right to the island than they. But they have grown by enchantment, while my race only grew to a certain size, and then were stopped and grew crooked. But the Huggermuggers, if there should be any more of them, will grow till they are like the trees of the forest.[575]

The dwarf's greed and jealousy drive the plot of the second book. Upon the departure of Huggermugger, Kobboltozo and his friends break into the giant's home, celebrate their departure, and feast upon their food and beer. As the party winds down, Kobboltozo begins his quest to find the source of the giant's size, the mysterious shellfish. After searching caves, meeting gnomes, and eventually confronting the Mer King, Kobboltozo learns that the shellfish still exist on the island. Once his fellow dwarves learn that the secret to gigantic size still exists on the island, they all abandon their work, quarrel, compete, and steal from each other in an unchecked race to discover the shell. In doing so, they neglect their homes and businesses, and the community falls into ruin. Stitchkin, the tailor, unswayed by greed, tries to convince his fellows that size didn't equate to happiness and they should be happy with who they are. Although some agree with him,

[575] Cranch, *The Last of the Huggermuggers*, 55.

it was often too late and most succumbed to exhaustion and starvation. When Jacky returns to the island, only Stitchkin is found alive, his community destroyed by malice and ambition.

As Stitchkin prepares to leave the island with Jacky, they discover that there are survivors among the dwarves. A small band of dwarves abandoned their search for the rare shellfish and formed a "little association" to rebuild their settlement.[576] Once they refocused on each other and their community rather than greed or jealousy, the group began to thrive and prosper on a different part of the island. From them, Jacky learns that Kobboltozo had discovered a magical oyster that, when eaten, caused his body to shrink while his head stayed the same size. Convinced that he was growing larger, the dwarf descended into madness eating as many of the bivalves as possible and claiming dominion over the ever increasing mound of discarded shells. Disconnected from his community and alone, the angry dwarf continued to shrink away physically while he believed his power was increasing.

Throughout the stories, Cranch made numerous comments that the dwarves, although small in comparison to the giants, were of the average size for a human. With that link clear, the fate of the dwarves represented a warning to the fate of Americans, driven by greed and ambition at the cost of abandoning their communities. The dwarves selfish quest for shellfish destroyed their civilization and it was not until they looked for new ways to for associate and band together that the dwarves were able to gain strength

[576] Christopher Pearse Cranch, *Kobboltozo: A Sequel to the Last of the Huggermuggers*. (Boston: Mayhew & Baker, 1869), 88.

again. This communalism, which was a central theme of many Transcendentalists and led to the creation of Brook Farm was also a common motivation for many of the mid-nineteenth century utopian communities that were popping up in the United States. The critique of rugged individualism is clear, if you go it alone, your community will suffer. The fate of Kobboltozo also serves as subtle observation that mirrored Emerson's critique of the academy. Although his quest to consume the shellfish made him believe his head was growing larger, it was his body and ability to act that was withering away.

As influential as Hawthorne, Cranch, Fuller, or Thoreau were at spreading the educational ideals of the Transcendentalists through the printed page, they all paled in comparison with Louisa May Alcott. Louisa May was both the product of and the most prolific promoter of Transcendentalist education. The daughter of A. Bronson Alcott, her father had studied her every action in great detail, recording her development in his journals and using them to hone down his understanding of child development. But Louisa May baffled her father with her outrageous behavior, indomitable spirit and resistance to discipline. As a young girl, she attended the Temple School and later received a home school education at her father's attempted utopian community of Fruitlands, an experience which later became the subject of her short story "Transcendental Wild Oats." As a young girl, she lived in Concord visiting Emerson's home to exercise the borrowing privileges that he extended to her of his own private library. In adulthood, Louisa May became the most popular children's author of the nineteenth century and her *Little Women* series has become an icon in American

literature, transcending generation and region while illustrating an idealized childhood and an ideal Transcendental classroom.[577]

In *Little Women*, Alcott tells the story of the March family, a fictionalized version of her own childhood in Concord. The images, storylines, and poetry of *Pilgrim's Progress* are woven throughout the narrative, revealing the central importance of this early adventure story to her family and her generation.[578] Throughout books one and two, the girls spend valuable time engaging the outdoors, walking in the woods, boating, and picnicking. Towards the end, though, Jo makes the most direct move toward Transcendental education, choosing to open turn her late aunt's home of Plumfield into "a school for little lads – a good, happy, home-like school" where she would raise a "crop" of boys by "trying the Socratic method of education on modern youth."[579]

In the book's sequel, *Little Men: Life at Plumfield with Jo's Boys*, Alcott described an academic approach that was rich with personal experience and reflection, focused on the development of critical thinking and virtue rather than rote memorization of subject matter. The first impression of the school is one of play, where the boys play tag and other games as well as perform music and hike in the woods. Her students are both wealthy boys and street urchins, thus promoting an egalitarianism that was also at the heart of Brook Farm. In the case of Billy Ward, he had been a very intelligent child,

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[577] Francis, *Transcendental Utopias: Individual and Community at Brook Farm, Fruitlands, and Walden;* John Matteson, *Eden's Outcasts: The Story of Louisa May Alcott and her Father*. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2007); and Charles Strickland, "A Transcendental Father: The Child Rearing Practices of Bronson Alcott," *Perspectives in American History*, 3 (1969): pp. 5-73.
[578] Anne Dalke, "'The House-Band': The Education of Men in Little Women," *College English*. 47 (October 1985): pp 571-578.
[579] Louisa May Alcott, *Little Women*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998. Originally published in 1868), 464.

but an over bearing father and aggressive academic program pushed him too hard. After studying for six hours a day, he was struck by a fever which caused his brain to give out and now the boy of 13 acted like a child of 6 years.[580] Alcott identified Plumfield as a place where the boys lived together "fighting faults and cultivating virtues in the good old-fashioned way. Boys at other schools probably learned more from books, but less of that better wisdom which makes good men. Latin, Greek, and mathematics were all very well, but in Professor Bhaer's opinion, self-knowledge, self-help, and self-control were more important, and he tried to teach them carefully. People shook their heads sometimes at his ideas, even while they owned that the boys improved wonderfully in manners and morals. But then, as Mrs. Jo said to Nat, it was an odd school."[581]

The virtue based education that taught the boys self-knowledge, self-help, and self-control was a physical education closely connected to the land. Alcott professed that: "All active young bodies must have exercise; and in these walks the active young minds were taught to see and love the providence of God in the beautiful miracles which Nature was working before their eyes. . . . Sermons in Stone, books in the running brooks, and good in everything."[582] All of the children had pets and plots of land where they could grow crops in the garden. Stories were told around the fire, and Mr. Bhaer, very much the literary version of Bronson Alcott, taught the students through reflection, allegory, and Socratic Method. Even Dan, the troublesome street urchin, discovers a

[580] Louisa May Alcott, *Little Men: Life at Plumfield with Jo's Boys*. (Waterville, Maine: Thorndike Press, n.d. Originally published in 1871), 40.
[581] Alcott, *Little Men*, 44.
[582] Alcott, *Little Men*, 50-51.

passion for the natural world and is most excited when he meets and tramps through the forest with Mr. Hyde, the naturalist who lived in the woods.[583]

Central to the academic life of Plumfield is the realization that learning is a social, not an individual process. Jo acknowledges this social dynamic of the experiential model of learning in saying that "half of the science of teaching is knowing how much the children do for one another, and when to mix them."[584] Communalism was the driving force of the curriculum, and understanding the importance of the relationships within this academic family was the foundation of the development of virtue. Alcott saw the social relationship between the boys as the most important vehicle in their growth. In one case when a student's dollar is stolen, it is the social forces at work within the community that teach the greatest lessons. Rather than relying on threats, violence, or abstract principles, the boys experience how mistrust, lying, and stealing erode the positive sentiment within the group. Integrity and trust become highly personal, and they hold themselves accountable because of the natural consequences that threaten their small tight community.[585] This same pattern replicates itself in the Tom Slade books of the early twentieth century and reinforce the moral importance of cabin groups and patrols in the early outdoor education movement.

For the parents and educators involved in the first generation of summer camps, Louisa May Alcott's writing would have been highly influential in establishing the perspective of how school should be structured. Beyond the logistical demands of public

[583] Alcott, *Little Men*, 222-225.
[584] Alcott, *Little Men*, 155.
[585] Alcott, *Little Men*, 358.

schooling, with its political and religious entanglements, the possibility of creating a learning experience for children that approached the ideal world of Plumfield would have been attractive in much the same way that millennial children fantasize about going to Hogwarts – leading them to actually play Quidditch in college after reading the Harry Potter series of books as children. Summer camps were the Plumfields of the early twentieth century, where adventures could be had, self-knowledge could be developed, and a connection to the natural world was the basis of the curriculum. It was an experiential education that Emerson had proposed in *Nature* and it was an experiential education that Louisa May Alcott illustrated in *Little Men.*

As Emerson argued in "The American Scholar", even the best ideas are locked in their own historical circumstances. Emerson did not argue for summer camps, the historical conditions did not exist yet for him to do so, but he and his Transcendentalist colleagues did create an intellectual climate that placed a greater emphasis on the natural world as well as the development of the individual through personal reflection and the Socratic Method. In experimenting with their models of education, the Transcendentalists illustrated the potential of a model of education based on direct primary experience in the natural world. Even in the failure of Brook Farm, they demonstrated the success of an educational model based on a close connection to the natural world that blended personal experience with intellectual, moral, and physical education.

The Transcendentalism of the nineteenth century was not limited to Boston and the surrounding communities. In 1829 from the shores of Lake Champlain, James Marsh, the president of the University of Vermont, published an American edition of Samuel Taylor Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection* and wrote an extensive introduction to the text. Marsh's introduction sparked the young minds of Emerson, Alcott, Fuller, Peabody and the other proponents of these new views which stressed the power of intuition. More conservative and Christian than the Emersonian brand, Vermont Transcendentalism focused on strengthening and improving institutions rather than tearing them down and rebuilding them. For the next forty years, the students at the University of Vermont were trained in this "Burlington philosophy," including a young undergraduate who Louis Menand would call "the last of the Vermont Transcendentalists," the man who would be widely acknowledged as the father of twentieth century experiential education, John Dewey.[586]

[586] Louis Menand, *The Metaphysical Club: A Story of Ideas in America*. (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2001), 238-250; Steven Simpson, *Rediscovering Dewey: A Reflection on Independent Thinking.* (Bethany, Oklahoma: WoodNBarnes, 2011).

Chapter 6: Adventurous Play in Urban Environments

The perception of camp as the picturesque fantasy land for wealthy and upper middle class children, isolated youth from the evils of urban life and dominates the scholarship of the summer camp movement. But outdoor education had various applications for the poor street urchins of America's cities as well. In Boston, educators pioneered efforts to morally inoculate urban children from urban problems through educational programs that were outdoors, but rarely in the bucolic settings of the wealthy summer camps. In Boston Harbor, on the banks of the Charles River, and later in the mountains of New Hampshire, these programs applied the theories of outdoor education directly to the source of the American crisis of urbanization and immigration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The rapid urbanization of northeastern American cities like Boston fueled the anxieties of the dominant Anglo-American middle class. Concerns that the overcrowded cities prevented healthy lifestyles, that immigration would overwhelm traditional American cultural values, and that a softer suburban lifestyle had sapped the energy and integrity of America's youth fueled the explosion of outdoor education across the United States.[587] The emerging pedagogy of outdoor education addressed these problems by connecting children to the natural (i.e. non-urban) world, reinforced an ethic of play, and adopted methods where students learned from direct personal experience rather than mediated instruction. For educators addressing the blight of the urban poor without the

[587] Abigail Van Slyck, *A Manufactured Wilderness: Summer Camps and the Shaping of American Youth, 1890-1960* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), xxii.

financial resources of wealthier camps, success required innovation and adaptability. On Thompson Island in Boston Harbor, the Boston Farm School brought "worthy" orphans from the city streets to what became a self-sufficient island republic of youth, complete with a fully operational farm, city government and progressive classrooms that introduced activities decades ahead of the city's public schools. Starting with Charlesbank, a landscape designed by Frederick Law Olmsted and equipment by Dr. Dudley A. Sargent, the playground movement sought to create islands of recreation for children deep in the heart of the city. Meanwhile, the city's Settlement Houses, bastions of progressive reform, also adopted outdoor education methods: organizing day trips, family camps, and summer-long experiences that connected children to the natural world while also developing the skills needed for success in a modern American world.

The development of pedagogy reflects the intentional transmission of values and the application of outdoor pedagogies illustrated the cultural tensions between classes in turn-of-the-century Boston. Although not necessarily an overt battleground, the outdoor education classrooms of the period show what lessons the dominant culture felt were most important to instill in the next generation. On the pages of the *Boston Daily Globe*, in the curricula of educational programs, and in the design of the Boston's new playgrounds, Bostonians engaged in discourses concerning gender, class, and immigration. Using methods and paradigms important to the summer camp movement, such as connecting children to the natural world by actively engaging them physically and intellectually through recreation, they modified their approaches to serve poor urban communities with limited resources.

Thompson Island: An Island Republic of Youth

In the 1820's, Bostonians acknowledged that prisons were unfit places for children, even undesirable street urchins. Following the path laid out in New York City, Boston's House of Reformation opened in 1827 to provide young children convicted of a crime an opportunity for redemption while learning a trade and paying their debts to society.[588] Reformers believed that child criminals could be more easily reformed if reached at a young age, so offering a moral and productive path to juvenile delinquents would translate to a corresponding decrease in the number of adult prisoners as well.[589] After five years of operation, a group of Boston's leading families identified another population that, if reached in time, would further prevent the flow of poor to the prisons. Through the advocacy of Unitarian Ministers and wealthy Brahmins, the Boston Farm School Society was founded in 1832 for "the education of boys belonging to the city of Boston, who, from extraordinary exposure to moral evil, require peculiar provision for the forming of their character, and for promoting and securing the usefulness and happiness of their lives; and who have not yet fallen into those crimes which require the interposition of the law to punish or restrain them."[590] From the start, the Boston Farm School differentiated its student body from the criminal element. Farm School students were from rough areas of the city and if left in those environments they would surely become criminals. Still, this was not a reform school. The Boston Farm School was a private school that only accepted students who had proven themselves worthy. To

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[588] B. K. Peirce, *A Half Century with Juvenile Delinquents*. (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1869), 130. Also, see Chapter 4.
[589] Pierce, 67.
[590] *Boston Asylum and Farm School for Indigent Boys: Statement, Acts, By-Laws, and Rules and Regulations.* (Boston: Press of Isaac R. Butts, 1839), 5.

protect these students and keep them on the straight and narrow path, a new environment was required, an island away from the "moral evils" of the city, and so the Farm School board purchased Thompson Island, at 157 acres the second largest of the Boston Harbor Islands and only three and a half miles from Long Wharf.[591] (Figure 6.1)

On Easter Monday 1833, Unitarian minister Reverend Eleaser Mather Porter Wells landed on the shore of Thompson Island with a small group of seventeen boys to begin this experimental island community.[592] Formerly the director of the Boston House of Reformation, Wells was appointed by the Board of Directors as the first superintendent of the Boston Farm School. That August none other than Charles Bulfinch completed the main building located on the highpoint of the island's Mansion Hill. The five-story building included housing for students and teachers, classrooms, kitchen, library and offices.[593] By October, Reverend Wells had decided life on the island was too challenging and he stepped down, turning the helm over to Captain Daniel Chandler, a veteran of the War of 1812.[594]

The Boston Farm School was not the first attempt to address the at-risk children of Boston. In 1814, the Boston Asylum for Indigent Boys opened in the West End to serve orphans from the War of 1812 before eventually moving to the North End in the

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[591] "A Noble Charity: The Boston Farm School on Thompson's Island," *Boston Daily Globe*, July 22, 1876, page 2; "Teaching Boys to be Good Citizens," *Boston Daily Globe*, November 11, 1901, page 8.
[592] *Boston Asylum and Farm School for Indigent Boys: Statement, Acts, By-Laws, and Rules and Regulations*, 7 and White, 5.
[593] White, 6.
[594] Peter Holloran, *Boston's Wayward Children: Social Services for Homeless Children, 1830-1930.* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1989), 39.

1820s.[595] Founded by the same families who had backed the Lowell Mills, including John Singleton Copley's son-in-law Gardiner Greene, the asylum served an important need but was too expensive to run entirely on donations. By the 1830s, the board members of the Asylum advocated for the purchase of a farm to help the boys support themselves.[596] Rather than purchase a new farm, the directors of the Boston Asylum chose to merge with the Boston Farm School in 1835 and the operation adopted the rather lengthy title of Boston Asylum and Farm School for Indigent Boys.[597]

As a private corporation, not tied to a municipal authority or the public school system, the Boston Farm School was able to exert discretion in its admission of students and development of curriculum. By selecting only orphans, bastards, and pauper boys who had not been convicted of any crimes, the school was able to differentiate itself from the stigma of penal colonies or reform schools.[598] The admission process only considered children who had lost either one or both parents and then required letters of recommendation from the child's physician, clergyman, and three or four other persons of recognized standing in the community. Once admitted, the school provided clothing, shelter, food, medical care, moral discipline, and vocational training for the child.[599] The Boston Farm School also became the legal guardian for all of its students. If one of the parents was alive, they had to sign over custody of their child to the school as a

[595] Holloran, 38. Frank H. White, *Thompson Island: Learning By Doing*. (Boston: Thompson Island Outward Bound Education Center, 1991), 5.
[596] Chaim M. Rosenberg, *Child Labor in America: A History*. (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2013), 41
[597] Holloran, 39.
[598] Holloran, 39-41.
[599] "Centennial of the Boy's School on Thompson's Island," *Boston Daily Globe*, March 15, 1914, page 61.

requirement of admission. The school then maintained guardianship until the child reached the age of 21, even if they no longer lived on the island.[600] Serving ages 10 to 14 on the island, the school produced graduates who were well prepared to continue their education on the mainland while the school's focus on a practical curriculum of skill development flowed into an apprenticeship program. The Boston Farm School sought out opportunities and places of employment for the children after they left the island and maintained contact with the children until they reached adulthood.[601]

The curriculum of the Boston Farm School was as innovative as its location, regularly drawing curious visitors including Nathaniel Hawthorne and Charles Dickens.[602] The practical basis of the educational program served three purposes: it provided the students with an integrated, project-based approach to learning their lessons; it trained them in vocational skills that would open employment opportunities in the future; and it decreased the school's operational costs while also creating revenue streams to keep the school operational. Initially the students worked the farm and built the new school grounds, reserving academic study for evenings or cold weather days. But by 1839, a more routine schedule developed where the students split the day between class and work, with half of the students working the fields while the other half attended class at any given time.[603] As the first elementary school in America to include farming in the curriculum, the Boston Farm School used experiential education as the basis of academic study, weaving together formal studies of agriculture, horticulture, and botany by the

[600] White, 14.
[601] White, 12.
[602] Holloran, 39.
[603] White 7.

1840s.[604] As the *Boston Daily Globe* described: "The scientific farmer must have some knowledge of physical geography or the action of winds, rain falls, dew, clouds, etc, upon the soil; he must know somewhat of geology, chemistry, horticulture, forestry, landscape gardening and mathematics; in fact, his training must be integral in its character, or else he may expect small success from his venture."[605] The integrated nature of the curriculum also allowed the students to directly improve the production of the island's farm. In one case, the students conducted a soil analysis and discovered a low level of potash. Meanwhile they also conducted a study on the seaweed that regularly washed up on shore and discovered that it had a high level of potash. The students then started collecting, drying, and burning the seaweed, and then plowed the ashes into the soil in order to improve the land.[606] In addition to growing enough food to supply the school, the students did all of their own cooking, baking, housekeeping, sewing, washing, and ironing. In time they added blacksmithing, cobbling, and printing to their skill sets, as well as writing and publishing one of the first school newspapers in the country.[607] The boys repaired the buildings on campus, they maintained the fleet of small boats used to run supplies to and from the mainland, and they learned how to sail in Boston Harbor.[608] On Sundays, visiting ministers and theology students visited the island for religious education and services, rounding out the moral education rooted in the daily agrarian lives of the students. For the 100 students of the Boston Farm School, Thompson Island

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[604] White, 8.
[605] "Teaching Boys to be Good Citizens," *Boston Daily Globe*, November 11, 1901, page 8.
[606] "Centennial of the Boys' School at Thompsons Island," *Boston Daily Globe*, March 15, 1914, page 61.
[607] "Teaching Boys to be Good Citizens," *Boston Daily Globe*, November 11, 1901, page 8.
[608] White, 9.

became a self-sufficient community and classroom, apart from but within sight of the City on the Hill.

The independent and self-reliant character of life on Thompson Island also led to numerous innovations in the academic culture of the school. In 1857, Superintendent William Morse overheard the boys playing music on a "comb and string band" and was struck by an idea. He reached out to the Boston community for donations of used musical instruments and throughout 1858-1859 a small collection of second-hand band instruments made their way to Thompson Island.[609] (Figure 6.2) Morse appointed his brother John as the music teacher and by 1859 the Boston Farm School had the first school marching band in America. Starting in June of 1859, the Boston Farm School Marching Band led the students on their annual parade through the city of Boston to meet with city officials, they performed in numerous city events and in time six members of the band would eventually join the Boston Symphony Orchestra. When the Civil War broke out, John Morse volunteered in the 45th Massachusetts volunteers and many of his former students joined with him, forming the core of the regimental band as well.[610]

By the 1880's, New England was aggressively moving from an agrarian to an industrial economy and the Boston Farm School changed with it. In 1881, Gardner Hall opened to house a new industrial print shop, becoming the first print shop in an American school. They published report cards, laundry lists and other internal documents, but their work quality was so good that they began serving the needs of mainland clients as well,

[609] "Golden Celebration of First Boys' Band," *Boston Daily Globe,* October 13, 1907, page 14.
[610] White, 12 and "Golden Celebration of First Boys' Band," *Boston Daily Globe,* October 13, 1907, Page 14.

thereby opening up a new line of revenue to support the school.[611] In 1907, the school embraced its new direction and renamed itself the Boston Farm and Trades School, maintaining a curriculum that added printing, carpentry, printing, ship-building, and blacksmithing to the agricultural format of the first decades.[612] In 1905 the students also built and operated the first weather station in an American school to accompany their meteorology program. (Figure 6.3) In addition to serving the needs of the school, the students also phoned in their observations to the US Weather Bureau.[613] Beyond the economic, musical, and meteorological experiments in pedagogy that occurred on Thompson Island, the most elaborate was the schools citizenship program, Cottage Row.

For many of the first decades on Thompson Island, the Farm School boys had built play houses from scraps of wood left over from other projects. But in 1889, Superintendent Charles H. Bradley, the first Superintendent of the school with a background in education, allowed the boys the resources needed to build more permanent structures. In all, they constructed 12 small playhouses and then developed their experimental learning community. Cottage Row, as it was called, included housing, a bank, a government, a judicial system, a newspaper, and a company store. (Figure 6.4) Three to five boys lived in each cottage and the members of those houses held a financial share in the real estate with deeds that could be sold or traded through the school bank. The elected government, the first student government of its kind in the United States, included a board of aldermen, a clerk, police officers, a street commissioner, and a jury,

[611] White, 11.
[612] Rosenberg, 41 and White, 13.
[613] White, 13.

while the positions of Sanitary Commissioner and the Director of Natural History were appointed by the aldermen. The Natural History Museum, located in a play house named Audubon Hall, housed the boys' pets as well as any natural treasures discovered around the island. Although supervised by the faculty, the adults did not participate in town meeting, elections, or the court system.[614] The Farm School Trading Company was the business education program, selling knives, balls, and fishing tackle to the boys on the island. The students running the store learned book keeping skills and how to work with the Farm School Bank. The boys were allowed to earn money on the island, through cash prizes awarded for good behavior as well as through gifts from friends and family on the mainland.[615] Through Cottage Row, the students of the Boston Farm School learned how to operate systems of government and finance experientially.

This elaborate societal role play was the first in what became a national movement to organize play as a means to develop the skills needed for democracy. The most widely promoted was the George Junior Republic program which was developed by William George of New York City as a means to improve the outcomes at the city's Fresh Air Camps. Starting five years after Cottage Row, the George Junior Republics program began as a summer program to help shift immigrant children from seeking charity to greater participation in society. As it expanded to a year-round program, the Junior Republics included operational newspapers, hotels, restaurants, and other

[614] White. 12-13, 18 and "Farm and Trades School adds Graduate Students Courses," *Boston Daily Globe*, August 6, 1922, page 47.
[615] "Teaching Boys to be Good Citizens," *Boston Daily Globe*, November 11, 1901, page 8.

businesses.[616] In 1900, the YMCA adopted a similar model under the banner of "Collegevilles" and the idea of "School Cities" was promoted throughout the United States as an activity for classrooms, orphanages, settlement houses, boys clubs, and playgrounds.[617] Most of these programs could only be sustained for a few seasons and as immigration slowed and changing perceptions of race formed increased barriers to assimilation, the idea of these miniature municipalities fell out of favor.[618] The glaring exception however was the first of these programs, Thompson Island's Cottage Row, which lasted for decades.

By the time of its centennial in 1933, the Boston Farm and Trades School on Thompson Island had educated nearly 3,000 boys.[619] As an island community, the students developed a sense of self-reliance and commitment to each other that would have been the envy of any contemporary summer camp program, not to mention a nineteenth century urban orphanage. Exposed to the full force of New England's climate and making a living from a short growing season, these students were intimately connected to the challenges of the natural world. In constructing their own buildings and governmental structures, they were in a large sense recapturing a pioneering wilderness experience in a much more authentic way than other outdoor programs of the period, all within four miles of one of the most sophisticated cities in North America. The Boston Farm and Trades School continued operation as a residential school until 1975, when

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[616] Jennifer S. Light, "Building Virtual Cities, 1895-1945," *Journal of Urban History.* 38. (March 2012): 337-338.
[617] Light, 342.
[618] Light, 345.
[619] "One Hundred Lucky Boys who Live on an Island," *Boston Daily Globe*, June 11, 1933, page A18.

declining enrollment, changes in the educational climate, and other economic forces led to its closure, but the island continued to serve as a location for short term educational day programs.[620] In 1988, the Thompson Island Outward Bound Education Center formed to serve Boston's inner city youth through a combination of adventure-based and environmental education.[621] Thompson Island Outward Bound Education Center now serves thousands of students annually, following in the footsteps of those pioneering educators who first set up a school on the island in 1833.

Charlesbank: An Island of Recreation in the Heart of Boston

As successful as the Boston Farm School was, it had one serious limitation. The school was highly selective about the poor children it served, and it generally enrolled only 100 students at a time; while the streets of Boston were crowded with thousands of needy children. Working-class families, who spent most of their income on rent and food, had little to spend on recreation, so they needed places to retreat, picnic and recreate that had low or no costs associated.[622] Searching for new solutions to this larger problem, Bostonians returned to their belief in the outdoors as a treatment for urban issues and created another innovation in outdoor education, the Charlesbank Playground. As the first urban space in America intentionally designed and managed for the purpose of play, Charlesbank became a focal point in the discussion of healthy child development, including the risks both on and off the playground. The popularity of Charlesbank Playground fueled a national movement leading to the creation of playgrounds across the

[620] White, 25.
[621] White, 31.
[622] Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York.* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 4-14.

United States. In the shift from serving local needs to solving national problems, the evolving playground movement linked playgrounds to the solution of a broad swath of social issues.

The historiography of the play movement situates playgrounds within the larger Progressive Era urban reforms, closely tied to programs such as kindergarten and settlement houses. Play historians can be roughly grouped into three categories: 1) those who see proponents of playgrounds as liberators of the poor and downtrodden; 2) those who view playgrounds as tools of social control and dominance; and 3) those who understand playgrounds as a middle ground between the two, working to both liberate and oppress.[623] In generalizing about the evolution and expansion of playgrounds in America, historians have used the paradigms of larger social forces and class conflict as a means to infer the motivations that led to the creation of playgrounds. But in this process of generalization, the specific motivations of time and place are subjugated to support the larger arguments. In order to slice through these generalizations, the concepts of risk perception and motivation can be utilized to better understand the decisions and forces that led to the creation of the Charlesbank Playground in Boston. Bostonians were acting and reacting based on their perceptions of the risks facing their children. As playground advocates organized and pushed for more national programs, the risks they identified and the fears they supported became more national in their scope. Therefore, although Boston's playground advocates in the 1880s saw play spaces as a solution to issues of

[623] Stephen Hardy and Alan G. Ingham, "Games, Structures, and Agency: Historians on the American Play Movement" *Journal of Social History*. 17 (Winter, 1983): 285-289.

infant mortality, crime, and public health concerns, later nationally minded playground advocates saw them as tools for Americanization and democratization. The motivations behind the movement depended largely on what the proponents perceived to be at risk.

Playground structures had an inherent sense of risk about them which, although not of the same intensity as the sublime wilderness, is palpable and made them attractive as an educational tool. Children were drawn to the exciting physical nature of the activities, but the height and construction of the equipment put little focus on physical safety and there was a strong potential for children to be hurt.[624] But a positive campaign in the press worked to relieve parental anxieties about the physical danger of these spaces. As dangerous as some of these playgrounds appeared, many saw the moral danger of spending a childhood in the congested city was seen as being much greater. Throughout the 1880's, the *Boston Daily Globe* reported on, and shaped, Bostonians' concerns about youth risks and playgrounds. The *Globe's* reporting on the need for playgrounds can be categorized into three areas: 1) the risks to public health in the city; 2) the risk of dense urban development; and 3) the risk of creating juvenile criminals. The concern over public health was rooted in a perception that tenement living limited air quality and the physical activity that was required for healthy bodies. The more densely

[624] The importance of risk management to the outdoor education movement in the twentieth century cannot be over-estimated. Managing the physical danger of activities is essential for the development of judgment as well as the health and well-being of students, but it is also the high level of apparent risk that is often the most attractive feature of outdoor education programs. For more on the role of risk perception in outdoor education see Tracey J. Dickson, Jenny Chapman, and Margot Hurrell, "Risk in Outdoor Activities: The Perception, The Appeal, The Reality" *Australian Journal of Outdoor Education* (January, 2000); Rick Curtis, "The Risk Assessment & Safety Management System" on OutdoorEd.com, http://www.outdoored.com/Articles/Article.aspx?ArticleID=151, accessed December 15, 2011. Observations regarding the safety level of tag and high ropes courses come from the authors years of experience in the outdoor education industry as well as The St. Paul Group (2001). *Rocky terrain: A look at the risks in the outdoor adventure industry*. St. Paul, MN.

populated areas of the city were shown to have higher rates of infant and childhood mortality, especially in the summer months, and this was credited to the limited access to natural spaces and opportunities for exercise. Although the system of parks known as the Emerald Necklace had been established, the scenery alone was not adequate to tend to the needs of poor urban children. They needed to romp and play across the landscape, not just experience it visually.[625]

The second fear that motivated Bostonians to invest in playgrounds was driven by the transformation of the urban landscape. As city spaces were being filled in, Bostonians began to voice concerns about running out of space and missing the opportunity to set aside land for playgrounds. In November 1889, the citizens of Newton met to organize and plan how to develop playground space in their rapidly growing suburb. Meanwhile in Boston, philanthropists and educators worked to identify any available open space in the city that could possibly be reconditioned for the use of playgrounds. By 1890, only a few school yards and burying grounds could be identified as possible sites.[626] But these two concerns paled in comparison with the greatest risk that threatened the youth of Boston, that without adequate play spaces, the boys of today would become the criminals of tomorrow. The belief that lack of playgrounds resulted in a life of crime rested on the idea that boys would run into conflict with the police over

[625] "Boston's New Park," *Boston Globe*, October 15, 1887, page 4; "What People Talk About: Playgrounds for the People," *Boston Daily Globe,* March 23, 1888, page 4.
[626] "Brackett at Newton: Opens a Festival to Raise Money for a Children's Playground," *Boston Globe,* November 12, 1889, page 2; "Breath for the Poor: Philanthropists Devote an Afternoon Talk to Securing Playgrounds for Working People," *Boston Daily Globe,* April 25, 1890, page 5.

baseball and other games and once they started running from the police, they would develop habits that would eventually land them in prison.

The perceived risk of criminalization through play rested on a series of assumptions often repeated in the *Globe*. First, children naturally had the need to play and they could not, nor should they, be prevented from playing. Second, without designated play spaces youth turned to empty lots or busy streets for play grounds. This led to destructive consequences with children breaking windows while playing ball or being struck and killed by passing vehicles on the street. Boston's police were tasked with keeping the children from playing ball or destroying property and this antagonistic relationship between the city's youth and the police set the stage for the final downfall. Without the opportunity for appropriate physical play, children turned to pranks and other destructive activities as well as learning how to avoid or disobey the authorities. The lessons learned would presumably become the foundation of a life of crime. [627]

The irony of this lack of play space rested on the fact that Boston was experiencing a renaissance of parks space at the same time. Under Frederick Law Olmsted's direction, the Emerald Necklace was taking shape, forming an interconnecting series of parks extending from the heart of the city linking the Boston Common with the Public Gardens, the Commonwealth Avenue Mall, the Back Bay Fenns, and finally the pastoral expanses of Franklin Park. Although Olmsted's work was designed to relieve

[627] "A Classic Playground: A Sketch for Young People," *Boston Daily Globe*, April 30, 1885, page 6; "Boston's Playgrounds: Location of the Lots Where Boys Can Play," *Boston Daily Globe,* May 13, 1886, page 4; "The Common for Boys: An Order for a Play-Ground Passes the Council," *Boston Daily Globe,* May 28, 1886, page 5; "Boston's Needs," *Boston Daily Globe,* August 4, 1886, page 6; "What People Talk About: Wants the Playstead for Adults, Too," *Boston Daily Globe,* June 18, 1889, page 5.

the pressures of urban life, it was meant to be experienced reflectively and visually, not physically. Olmsted believed that what was at risk in cities was the mental health and moral energy of the population. He felt that the lack of sunlight and fresh air caused by overcrowding led to a mental and moral weakness expressed through selfish attitudes, neurotic behaviors, and eventual madness. The answer to this problem was found in the natural aesthetics of a rural landscape. However, the rolling hills and lush green grass would quickly be transformed into dirt and dust if children were allowed to play ball in the parks. In Boston's Emerald Necklace as well as New York's Central Park, Olmsted imposed order and protected the landscape by posting and enforcing "Keep off the Grass" signs.[628]

For Bostonians, the order to "Keep off the Grass" not only served to create another point of conflict between children and police, it also separated the younger generation from the traditional experiences of a childhood in Boston. Nostalgic reminisces of sledding down Bunker Hill or playing games on the Common became laments with *Globe* contributors reflecting on how children today weren't allowed to have this kind of fun because of the police and the "Keep off the Grass" signs.[629] In May of 1886, the *Globe* published an article with the intent of serving as a playground guidebook for youth as well as a wake-up call to adults about the lack of resources in the

[628] Alexander Von Hoffman, "Of Greater Lasting Consequence: Frederick Law Olmsted and the Fate of Franklin Park, Boston" *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*. 47. (December, 1988): pp 339-350; Roy Rosenzweig and Elizabeth Blackmar, *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992); and Michael Rawson, *Eden on the Charles: The Making of Boston*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010).

[629] "A Classic Playground: A Sketch for Young People," *Boston Globe*, April 30, 1885, page 6; "Children in the Parks: How They Enjoy the Summer Weather," *Boston Daily Globe*, July 5, 1885, page 5; "The Common For Boys: An Order for a Play-Ground Passes the Council," *Boston Daily Globe*, May 28, 1886, page 5.

city. Anchored securely in the belief that a lack of playgrounds led to criminal activity, the article stated: "It seems hard to arrest a boy, bring him into court, and make him a criminal because he gives vent to boyish spirits in a boyish way and plays ball in the only place he has near home."[630] The article noted that waterfront spaces existed in East Boston where children could play, but that open water was extremely dangerous for little children. The development of the Back Bay was removing empty lots that had been used by children and pushing any available open space beyond the reach of the youths in the poorest and densest parts of the city. The biggest space available for the children to play was a large lot known as the South Boston Flats, or the Dump. Open, sun-bleached, dusty, wind-swept, and beyond the patrols of the Boston Police Department, this barren and undeveloped land allowed children to play outside of the public eye. But in such a stark environment and without any adult supervision, violence and rough play became the norm.

In 1888, Bostonians responded to the perceived risks of this lack of play space. First, two "sand gardens" were set up in the North End by the Massachusetts Emergency and Hygiene Association to provide for the summer health and recreation needs of Boston's youngest children. Then an open space in South Boston was dedicated for children's play. Although no gymnasium or sports equipment was constructed, the "Keep off the Grass" signs were removed and police were ordered not to harass the children. The following year, a portion of Franklin Park was dedicated to children's play

[630] "Boston Playgrounds: Location of the Lots Where Boys Can Play," *Boston Globe*, May 13, 1886, page 4.

and all of the children in the city were given a half day away from school and free train rides to the park for the ceremony.[631] But the open spaces of Franklin Park and the South Boston Playground were too far away from the dense clusters of children packed in to the North and West Ends. To serve their needs, through both physical and scenic methods, Bostonians chose to create a new type of playground that combined the physical training of the gymnasium with the natural tonic of green space and fresh air. With its creation, Bostonians created a space that would address the perceived risks of a dense urban environment, but they also created a space with risks of its own.

The Charlesbank Playground began initially with the opening of the Charlesbank Gymnasium on August 27, 1889.[632] Located northwest of Beacon Hill, the facility was convenient for residents of the urban slums in the North End and West End. Designed for the men and boys of the city, the men's gymnasium was joined in 1891 by the world's first outdoor gymnasium for women in June of 1891. The new gymnasium was designed to have similar equipment as the men's, but modified specifically for women and under the supervision of the leading figure in physical education, Dr. Dudley A. Sargent of Harvard and Sargent Colleges.[633] In 1892, Olmsted refined the landscape and united the two gymnasiums into one large park. His plan (Figure 6.5) linked the boy's gymnasium on the northern side and the girl's gymnasium to the south with a green space and

[631] "Playgrounds for Children: A Charity to Afford the Little Ones a Chance to Play in the Sand," *Boston Globe,* April 22, 1888, page 8; "South Boston's New Playground," *Boston Daily Globe,* October 12, 1888, page 4; "Playground Dedication: Gala Time for School Children at Franklin Park," *Boston Daily Globe,* June 9, 1889, page 2.
[632] "Open to the Public: Charlesbank Gymnasium to Begin Another Season of Usefulness," *Boston Globe,* March 30, 1891, page 3.
[633] "Women's Cottage, Charlesbank Gymnasium," *Boston Globe,* June 1, 1891, page 4.

Promenade. The park ran along the bank of the Charles River between the West Boston Bridge and the Canal Bridge, from what is now the Longfellow Bridge and Charles River Dam Bridge. The photographs used by Olmsted and his associates to promote Charlesbank capture the most obvious risk in the new playground, that of the physical danger created by the play structures, but the design of the two playgrounds also suggests concerns about the appropriateness of men and women interacting while in the act of play. Gender-based fears over the consequences of unsupervised co-educational play were addressed in the built environment as well as in the press. The articles in the *Boston Globe* describe a near utopian environment on the city's playgrounds which are not only physically safe, but ideal for the development of both young men and young women. Olmsted's landscaping, Sargent's equipment, and the *Globe*'s descriptions worked to create a healthy, organized, space that would stand in stark contrast to the chaos of the urban environment. As a highly visual space dedicated to youth as a place for them to learn and play, Charlesbank highlighted the perceptions of gender in the city that needed to be reinforced and passed on to the next generation.

The aerial view of the Charlesbank Playground (Figure 6.6) captured the dichotomy of the urban landscape in the Boston of the 1890's. The top of the photo shows the industrial heart of Cambridge, Massachusetts, its smoke stacks rising from the factories along the congested waterfront. Stacks of lumber, mounds of coal, a docked ship, and the rail yard repair shop all line the banks of the Charles, revealing the visual impact of natural resources harnessed to fuel the industrialization of New England. The wide placid Charles separates this world of business and industry from the pleasant green

fields of Charlesbank. In landscape paintings of the nineteenth century, water was an essential element and often suggested purity and reflection, but although it may be part of the layout of this photo, it was not part of the view shed for the women playing in the Charlesbank. Water polluted by the refuse of industry as well as the visual impact from the opposite shore would have hindered the developmental and healthful objectives of the playground. The river was not part of the recreational experience of the women's playground at Charlesbank. There were no options for paddling, sailing, swimming, or beach walking. Instead, a wooden fence and line of tall shrubbery formed a boundary blocking out the urban world.

Olmsted's plan and the aerial view of the park do show that this isolation from the sights of the city were somewhat desirable, depending on the situation. The Promenade, the park's main walkway, followed the edge of the shore and provided an unobstructed view of Cambridge and the Charles River as well as access to three boat houses allowing for some recreational use of the river. On the Promenade the area that needed to be shielded from view was not the city, but rather the women's playground space. In addition to the verdant wall preventing prying eyes, the park was further divided with a tall fence separating the play field from the gymnasium. The obstructed view shed was considered essential to the very design of the park, allowing what the *Globe* called "protection from the eyes of idle curiosity seekers, who might distract the attention of the women from their exercises."[634]

[634] "Women's Cottage, Charlesbank Gymnasium," *Boston Globe*, June 1, 1891, page 4.

The park itself was divided into two spaces: a pastoral green playing field and the equipment rich outdoor gymnasium. The playing field was covered in grass, a physically and emotionally gentler surface for the tender feet of toddlers, compared to the mud, pavement, and cobble stones of the city streets. The field was not marked with lines, bases, or goals, suggesting a general purpose playfield, appropriate for informal play, lounging, picnicking, and less structured physical activity. On the southern end, a wooden roof arced across the field providing what *Harper's Weekly* described as a "Covered Seat for Mothers at the end of Play-Ground."[635] The existence and position of this structure suggests that although views were cut off around the playground, some element of observation and supervision was expected.

Participants could suffer serious physical injury from the thirty foot falls from the playground equipment, but they also risked violating cultural norms of dress and gender. The foreground of the aerial view photo is dominated by the large cage-like structure of the gymnasium apparatus which appears both intimidating and dangerous. Rope swings, see-saws, ladders and balance beams fill the interior of the gymnasium. The girls playing on the elements, older than those in the field, are watched by matrons dressed in black, and all of the women in the photo, whether playing or looking on, are clad in long dresses. This attire, although appropriate for women of the day, would have been quite inappropriate for the physical activity on the playground. In order to safely utilize the ladders, swings, and see-saws of the playground, girls would need to wear more physically appropriate clothing that might be objectionable in a different context. A later

[635] "Neighborhood Pleasure Grounds in Boston," *Harper's Weekly*, December 25, 1897, page 1289.

photo in the Olmsted collection shows a roof covering the gymnasium as well as a young girl clad in the bloomers that would become the norm for such activities (Figure 6.7).

The boy's area of Charlesbank (Figure 6.8) painted a scene equally risky for the physical safety of the children. The climbing structures appear higher and more exposed and there was little evidence of green spaces separating them from the harsh realities of the city. In addition to the open view shed in the boy's playground, the male space was not clearly subdivided and actually flowed from the recreational to the competitive. On the outer edge of the space was a running track, but there was minimal physical separation to differentiate that space from the playground in the infield. The blending of space took an especially unique turn with the design of the indoor gymnasium, whose second floor was accessible via a bridge architecturally linking the built environment with the track and the playground (Figure 6.9). None of the area was covered in grass or otherwise landscaped. The "broken earth" surface of the playground was considered important for a boy's playground, with its harsher athletic activities like the hammer throw and shot put.[636] The elements in the boy's playground space were also not covered with a roof or any other shelter from the sun. Open, exposed, and on display for a public that was concerned about the next generation, these boys engaged in healthy vigorous play in their area of Charlesbank and showed what the urban youth of Boston could and should be doing.

Although the image of Charlesbank in Figure 6.8 was dominated by men, the presence of at least one woman pushing a pram on the Promenade reveals the space to be

[636] "Women's Cottage, Charlesbank Gymnasium," *Boston Globe*, June 1, 1891, page 4.

more heterosocial than the girl's playground. This is reinforced by a second image of the men's gymnasium (Figure 6.10) showing men, women and young children watching the excitement inside the playground. The iron fence forms a boundary between the two spaces, but does not obstruct the view of the action going on inside. The Promenade itself was also a heterosocial space, both as a link between the two gendered ends of the park as well as being a recreational space in its own right. In the Charlesbank Promenade photo (Figure 6.11), men women and children are all resting on the benches or strolling along the waterfront. The unobstructed view of the water on the left side of the photo highlights the difference from the girl's gymnasium space. Open view sheds were part of the Charlesbank experience, with the sole exception being these areas specifically cordoned off for women's athletics.

The Promenade also created a space for the mixing of races as well as genders, creating a space with the potential for more relaxed social interactions. In the image of the Promenade, the white man leaning against the fence and attending to a pram is observing the well-dressed family of darker complexion to his left, and the children photographed in the organized calisthenics routines (Figure 6.12) show a definite multiracial mix with whites and blacks exercising together.

Based on these images, the unsuspecting citizen could easily be overwhelmed by the risky behaviors being practiced on Charlesbank. Little children were engaged in physically dangerous activities that threatened serious injury. The rope climbs, ladders, and other climbable elements look to be about 25 to 30 feet tall. A fall from such a

height would cause serious injury.[637] Young girls were encouraged to wear bifurcated garments and be physically active like boys, although not with boys. People of different races and ethnicities were freely mingling, running the risk of serious and potentially violent conflicts. But Bostonians appeared to view all of these risks as worthwhile, having received the reassuring support of the editors of the *Boston Globe*.

The *Globe*'s articles of the 1890's painted an almost utopian picture of the city's playgrounds. Children were polite, happy, well-behaved and never got injured. Young boys became responsible men and young girls learned to be strong mothers. Children lived and played in harmony and everyone was healthier for having places to play ball outside. The biggest fear that Bostonians had was that other cities might be doing a better job creating playgrounds for their citizens. The journalists of the *Boston Daily Globe* repeated regularly their assessments of the physical safety of playground activity and seemed to exaggerate the statistics beyond reason. In an article from August, 1891, the Matron of the Charlesbank Playground reported that over 97,000 women had used the playground since June and that the only injury was one slight scalp wound from an iron ring.[638] In 1899, the *Globe* ran a story on the playground at the Cudworth School in East Boston which was serving as many as 500 children and 40 babies at any one time. Some of the children arrived in small groups of infants and toddlers without parents. Two adult supervisors performed their duties with such apparent expertise that there were no

[637] Modern high ropes courses at this height are operated with helmets and technical climbing safety equipment.
[638] "The Girls' Free 'Gym,'" *Boston Globe*, August 14, 1891, page 4.

accidents at all and all of the children were very polite.[639] The small playground of the Eliot School yard in the densely packed North End was paved with brick, making it too dangerous for playground equipment like Charlesbank. But although the surface may have been harsh, the space was much better than the danger and harm that they would have found on the streets where, as the *Globe* observed, "Satan always finds mischief for idle hands."[640] These little North Enders were also very polite and gave the teachers no trouble at all, and the police station next door served as a constant reminder of why they should behave. In 1896, the women of the North End pushed for more playgrounds in their neighborhood. In making their case for space they referenced a young boy who had fallen to his death from a rooftop where he and his mates were forced to play. His mother went mad as a result and the whole family broke up. Other mothers complained that without a playground, they had nowhere to send their children after kindergarten let out.[641] Surely if all children were able to spend their lives on Boston playgrounds, the injury and infant mortality rate of the city would reach zero.

The news accounts also suggested that the relationship between police officers and youths was also reformed on the playground. As early as 1890, the paper noted that police were more relaxed in their interactions with boys playing ball in the park, without neighbors to annoy or windows to break. By 1894, the police officer assigned to Charlesbank had become a "good-natured father" to the children of the city. The few

[639] "Little Ones Enjoy the Vacation Playgrounds," *Boston Globe,* August 4, 1899, page 6.
[640] "Little Ones Enjoy the Vacation Playgrounds," *Boston Globe,* August 4, 1899, page 6.
[641] "Women at Work," *Boston Globe,* March 1, 1896, page 16.

rules he set were obeyed and the place was so safe that a parent could leave their two year old unattended without worrying.[642]

With such strong positive role models as the Charlesbank Policeman, it was no surprise that young boys who enjoyed the playground would become fine men. Journalist E.F. Burns observed: "Give a boy fun and keep your eye on him while he is using it and he'll turn out to be a man you can rely on not to 'sass' his wife and to provide a barrel of flour when it's wanted."[643] Strong, respectful, and reliable the boys on the playground experienced the transformative power of play. Just like at school, the boys were kept out of trouble and any boys who behaved badly were swiftly dealt with. Smoking led to immediate ejection from the playground and therefore boys were motivated to be on their best behavior. Playgrounds then became classrooms of acceptable behavior where middle class Bostonians could address their anxieties regarding the moral degradation they perceived in the roving bands of poor urban youth.

Playgrounds also created a space where boys could express their own sense of agency within the politics of Boston. In 1894, a group of North End boys took over the abandoned Haymarket Square train station and used it as a playground. The police, seeing no immediate harm, looked the other way.[644] When the Selectmen of Brookline decided to bar the game of baseball on the town playground for Memorial Day, the boys organized and protested the selectmen's meeting. Their protests drew the support of one

[642] "Just Keep off the Grass: Peelers in the Parks with Their Uniforms On," *Boston Globe*, October 12, 1890, page 24; "Children at Charlesbank," *Boston Daily Globe,* August 27, 1894, page 4.
[643] E.F. Burns, "What Fun for Boys," *Boston Globe*, June 30, 1890, page 2.
[644] "Where Trains were Many," *Boston Globe,* November 11, 1894, page 30.

former Selectmen who gave voice to their demands saying: "Boys have some rights in the world and one of those rights is to act like boys, and if boys can't play ball they might as well have been girls."[645]

The girls of the city also had rights, and they were able to express those at Charlesbank as well. From morning to night, young girls and working women were attending gymnastic classes, enjoying the rope swings, laughing and enjoying the open air that they could not have in their tenements. The access to the baths at the gymnasium also led to the development of healthy habits of cleanliness. The physical education programs at the girls gymnasium were also leading to the development of mental and physical discipline for the women. At the end of the 1896 season, Dr. Dudley Sargent himself awarded prizes to those girls who showed the most improvement.[646]

The healthy peace and harmony was extended to the interactions between the races as well. Just as the photograph of the children exercising from Olmsted's collections (Figure 6.12) captured children playing together, so too did the *Globe's* images suggest integrated play. *In the Sandbox* from 1891 (Figure 6.13) shows white and black children playing together and numerous articles note that Jewish, Turkish, Portuguese, Irish, and African children were all welcome to play together at the playground where they enjoyed a conflict-free setting. These extreme positions, from the near perfect safety record to the angelic behavior of children and the racial harmony, suggest that the *Boston Globe* was working to define a positive perception of risk for the

[645] "Boys on the War Path: Brookline's Selectmen to be Made Tired," *Boston Globe*, May 8, 1891, page 9.
[646] "Getting Brown and Happy," *Boston Globe*, June 30, 1896, page 5; "Charlesbank Gym Work," *Boston Daily Globe*, September 6, 1896, page 3.

reading public rather than a critical assessment. It was a markedly different approach to risk from the stranger danger and fear mongering themes that late twentieth century and early twenty-first century media have employed.[647]

There was very little negative press associated with playground activities themselves. In 1896, Little Frankie Grant was kidnapped while playing in a playground in Rochester, NH.[648] In November 1897, two children fell into the Mystic River while playing at the incomplete Chelsea St. Playground, but were quickly rescued by onlookers.[649] A story from 1898 questioned the amount of learning that was actually going on within a sandbox in the North End and presented a rather densely packed play area (Figure 6.14) but the article also noted that there was a fair amount of racial harmony on the playground, suggesting that something valuable was being learned.[650] The biggest fear regarding playgrounds was that Boston was not moving fast enough in promoting their use. Between 1890 and 1891, the *Globe* ran multiple articles noting that New York and Berlin were both providing better resources than Boston and making a plea for the greater community support to the Massachusetts Emergency and Hygiene Association which had taken the lead in the establishment of playgrounds in the city.

Although the playgrounds of Boston were perceived to be a safer alternative that casting children onto the streets, there were still hurdles to overcome for the small local movement. In the winter of 1896, a battle erupted between Mayor Josiah Quincy and the

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[647] Richard Louv's *Last Child in the Woods* does an exceptional job arguing the relationship between the increase in fear-based reporting in the media to the decrease in outdoor play among American children.
[648] "Boy Kidnapped: Little Frank Grant Taken From Playground," *Boston Globe*, October 8, 1896, page 8.
[649] "Brave Rescue: Two Small Children Fall Into the Mystic," *Boston Globe*, November 12, 1897, page 12.
[650] "School Yards Used as Playgrounds," *Boston Globe*, August 5, 1898, page 5.

Common Council (Boston's City Council) over the purchase and creation of a large playground in the North End. The conflict sparked long debates in council meetings, public petitions, and the involvement of Congressman John F. "Honey Fitz" Fitzgerald, but never questioned the need for playgrounds in the North End nor their positive impact on public health. One argument introduced during the debate was that playgrounds could serve as fire breaks for densely populated areas filled with dilapidated wooden structures. The main issues in opposition to the playground were over the expense and the proper role of government in the playground movement as well as whether the purchase of the property was part of a crooked land deal to serve political ends.[651] In the end, the playground was constructed, but the political struggles hinted at the ways in which the playground movement would change as it grew in the twentieth century.

As the playground movement spread from Boston and New York to Chicago, Philadelphia, Washington, Milwaukee, and countless other cities both small and large, the perceived risks and potential advantages took on a grander scope. The incorporation of school yards and the professional training of playground teachers heightened the need for the pedagogical training of supervisors and playground workers. This increased the expense which then required more funding than charities and community groups could afford. As universities, psychologists, and politicians stepped onto the playground, the risks facing American youth expanded to encompass scientifically studied health issues, psychological maladies, and weaknesses in the fiber of the citizenry. Although the

[651] "A Playground at the North End," *Boston Globe,* February 20, 1896, page 6; "Veto from the Mayor," *Boston Daily Globe,* March 25, 1896, page 3.

original proponents of playgrounds in Boston wanted a place for their kids to play, these turn of the century playground advocates warned that failing to establish and fund playgrounds would risk the very foundation of American democracy. By 1916, advocates argued that the fall of any empire could be traced to the misuse of leisure time.[652]

For early twentieth-century Bostonians, playgrounds provided an outdoor space and the physical resources children needed for healthy development. They became an almost essential component of any children's public space. Slides and swings were installed behind the main building on the campus of the Boston Farm School on Thompson Island.[653] Playgrounds became essential classroom spaces at schools around the country, but these were not merely passive environments. Leaders of the playground movement used the miniature municipality approach to provide some structure and empower children through the organization of activities, discipline, and more directed play.[654] And Dudley Sargent included a playground at Sargent Camp (Figure 6.15) so that his students would know how to best use the physical structures to develop students. But it was the Settlement House movement that would combine urban reform, youth development, playgrounds, and outdoor education into its most widespread and comprehensive form.

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[652] Sadie American, "The Movement for Small Playgrounds" *American Journal of Sociology* 4 (September 1898): pp. 159-170; Andrew Wright Crawford, "The Development of Park Systems in American Cities" *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.* 25 (March 1905): pp. 16-32; Charles Zueblin, "Playgrounds and the Board of Education" *The Elementary School Teacher* 8 (November, 1907): pp. 143-145; Amalie Hofer Jerome, "The Playground as a Social Center" *Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science* 35 (March 1910): pp. 129-133; *The Playground: World of Play*, Vol 10 (1916); Henry S. Curtis, *Education through Play* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917).
[653] White, 9.
[654] Light, 345.

The Comprehensive Outdoor Education of Boston's Settlement Houses

The challenges and risks associated with life on Thompson Island were great, including one fatal sailing accident in 1842 that claimed twenty-seven boys and a second in 1892 that took another eight students.[655] But as these children were orphans and the school was their legal guardian, there was little public pressure to address the risks involved in the outdoor education at the Boston Farm School. Playgrounds in the city involved serious physical risks, but the public opinion shaped by the media put an extremely rosy veneer on them, thereby minimizing public concerns. Settlement Houses had a more intimate challenge. Located in the neighborhoods where their children and their families lived, Settlement Houses needed to establish deeper and more trusting relationships with parents if they were going to draw out children from the city streets and provide them with the outdoor education needed to reform their minds and bodies. In doing so, they created sequential, intentionally designed outdoor education curricula that provided opportunities for parents and children, while assimilating many of the recent immigrants into American culture by immersing them in the American landscape.

Over twenty-five million immigrants came to America between 1880 and 1924, many from non-English speaking countries in eastern and southern Europe. Many Americans saw this influx as a tremendous threat to the political and economic system in the United States and responded through various forms of Americanization in order to speed up the assimilation process. Immigrant populations, still maintaining a sense of identity and agency, resisted some of these attempts, adopted others, and in the process

[655] White, 9.

redefined American culture.[656] Immigrant children played a central role in this Americanization process, having been influenced by their native land, but not fully acculturated and now immersed in a new cultural environment.[657] Outdoor education, with its approach of immersing children into a distinctly "American" landscape, as well as a pedagogy focused on self-development and a responsibility to community, provided a uniquely tuned method of education that could potentially transform these young children into "Americans." But to be successful, educators needed to develop a trusting relationship with immigrant parents, excite children, and develop methods that would suit the needs of this population while also advancing the Americanization process deemed so vital to the dominant population. Turn-of-the-century immigrant tenement houses were tightly knit communities. The women living there created comfortable social networks within and between apartments that replicated the villages of the old world. Settlement workers found it difficult to draw community members out of these networks and into their educational programs and so their success rested on their ability to appeal to the community, not just a few individuals.[658] Settlement Houses needed to develop deep levels of trust with the populations they served while also providing the institutional structure needed to develop sophisticated levels of outdoor education curricula on a limited budget.[659]

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[656] James R. Barrett, "Americanization from the Bottom Up: Immigration and the Remaking of the Working Class in the United States, 1880-1930," *The Journal of American History*. 79 (Dec., 1992): 997.
[657] Reed Ueda, "Second-Generation Civic America: Education, Citizenship, and the Children of Immigrants," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 29 (Spring, 1999): 661.
[658] Kathy Peiss, 21-25.
[659] Paul J. Hutchinson, "Wilderness Settlements: Early Twentieth Century Outdoor Education at the North Bennett Street Industrial School," *Journal of the North End Historical Society*. 1 (March 2012): 72.

Americans imported the Settlement House movement to deal with the problems of urbanization. The first Settlement House was Toynbee Hall located in the Whitechapel District of London. Opened in 1885, Toynbee Hall brought educated Oxford men into the urban slum, set them out to improve the living conditions and address class conflicts through educational programs and volunteer work.[660] In America the University Settlement, founded in 1886 in New York, was based on the British Model, but revealed a distinctly American quality. Rather than viewing the poor as a permanent underclass, the University House assumed that the poor could be assimilated, uplifted, and transformed into worthy citizens in the America Republic.[661]

The Settlement House model came to Boston through the South End House, which opened its doors in 1891. Robert A. Woods, its founder, drew inspiration from the traditional New England Town Meeting Hall which he believed offered an effective response to the impersonal and anonymous confusion of the modern city. In his mind it was a way to recapture the rural village ideal and transpose it into the bustling city of Boston.[662] By valuing a more pastoral New England culture as the ideal, Settlement House leaders were well suited to adopt the outdoor education pedagogic model as well. The South End's Hale House opened one of the first Settlement House summer camps on Squam Lake in 1900.[663] The West End House Camp opened in Parsonsfield, Maine in

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[660] Robert C. Reinders, "Toynbee Hall and the American Settlement Movement," *Social Service Review* 56 (Mar., 1982): 40-41.
[661] Reinders, 47-48.
[662] Edward S. Shapiro, "Robert A. Woods and the Settlement House Impulse," *The Social Service Review* 52 (June 1978): 215-218.
[663] Leslie Paris, 19.

1908 as the outdoor education program of the West End House's youth program.[664] And by 1915, the North Bennet Street Industrial School was offering a comprehensive series of outdoor programs including Travel Camp, Boxford Camp, and the Maplewood Caddy Camp.[665]

The three main outdoor education programs of the North Bennett Street Industrial School created a sequential experiential education program that developed the skills of students, but also gradually built trust between the Settlement House educators and the immigrant parents, allowing for the children to go farther afield for longer adventures. The programs also served as a social service for parents, providing maternal training and social support for working families through extended child care programs. They connected young children to the natural world, reinforced patriotic ideals, and gave the students the financial planning and other life skills needed to succeed in college and their careers. Ideally, as children progressed through the outdoor education programs at North Bennet Street, they and their families would be transformed from Italian immigrants to American citizens.[666]

The initial program in the North Bennet Street School's outdoor education program was Travel Camp. Designed as single day excursions, Travel Camp brought younger children by bus to nearby recreational areas to participate in nature programs and other recreational activities. Requiring little commitment of time or money, Travel Camp

[664] West End House Camp: Tradition. http://www.westendhousecamp.org/ios/ Accessed on December 2, 2014.
[665] Hutchinson, 73.
[666] Hutchinson, 75.

connected children to a life outside the city while still getting them back home by the end of the day. Ideally parents could experience locations like Lynn Beach or the Blue Hills with their younger children as their guides. Through these short term programs, parents would begin to trust the outdoor recreation ideals expressed by the settlement house and in time, be willing to send their children away for longer periods.[667]

In creating Boxford Camp, the next level of the outdoor education program, the school's director Alvin Dodd sought an agrarian rather than a wilderness environment. Starting in 1912, Dodd organized residential summer camp programs at farms in the Boston area. The farmhouse environment allowed for campers to have access to a kitchen and dining room as well as woods and a barn if the weather was too harsh for tenting. Dodd was not looking to replicate a pioneering wilderness or militaristic environment; rather he hoped to create the pastoral experience of a New England farm. By 1916, North Bennet Street campers were using a lakeside farm in Boxford, Massachusetts and Boxford Camp was born.[668]

Boxford Camp's curriculum served a broader population than most other camps of the period. Each two week session of camp was targeted to a specific population served by the settlement house, broken down by gender and relationship: girls; mothers and girls; mothers and children; mothers and boys; and boys. Placing the parental

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[667] Hutchinson, 75.

[668] Alvin Dodd to Fred Lambert, December 12, 1913; Alvin Dodd to Herbert Clark, February 8, 1914; Alvin Dodd to Edward Harrington, January 19, 1914; State Board of Health report to North Bennet Street Industrial School, June 24, 1914; General statement, May 22, 1917. Archives of the North Bennet Street Industrial School, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA; Hutchinson, 75-76.

relationship central to the camp program was part of the school's objective of reforming and uplifting the entire North End community rather than just tending to its youngest members. By cutting wood, picking berries, and gardening in a rural environment, these women and children would realize the potential of America outside of the tenement slums of the North End.[669] The family focus of the Boxford Camp programs addressed the needs of mothers in the North End, but not fathers. Fathers were the primary breadwinners and few were likely to receive time off from their early twentieth-century working class jobs so they could go to camp with their children.

The use of camperships, or summer camp scholarships, to support families also reveals the social objectives of the Boxford Camp program. Funded through community events and private foundations, camperships were granted based on the recommendations of doctors, priests, and teachers and the rationale for these awards illustrates the variety of outcomes expected from the utopian world of camp. The camp environment was considered a healthy place where a child with tuberculosis, a heart condition, or an ear infection could recover. It was also a place where children who had been in trouble with the law could find guidance and reform. Students who showed leadership potential would be able to develop those skills at Boxford Camp. Camp could also be a refuge for children whose home lives were marred by domestic violence or substance abuse. Camperships were also awarded with the parents in mind, providing support after workplace accidents or other medical issues forced parents to stay home from work.

[669] Hutchinson, 77-78.

Sending children to camp relieved the pressure of childcare in order to speed the parent's recovery.[670]

The highest level of the North Bennet Street Industrial School's outdoor education program was the Maplewood and Bethlehem Caddy Camps. The Caddy Camp approach sent inner city boys into the White Mountains of New Hampshire for an experiment in democracy, capitalism, and recreation that was meant to not only Americanize the children, but also provide them with the means to succeed later in life. Settlement Houses partnered with world-class resorts in New Hampshire in order to teach boys the intricacies of golf and how to earn a living as a caddy. Caddy Camps were a popular settlement house program in Boston during the first decades of the twentieth century, with camps set up at Bretton Woods, the Fabyans, the Balsams, Waumbek, and the Crawford House, in addition to the North Bennet Street programs at the Maplewood Resort and the Bethlehem Country Club.[671]

Adopting the miniature municipality approach like that used in Boston Farm School's Cottage Row program, Caddy Camps replicated the institutions and responsibilities of contemporary American society so as to provide experiential learning opportunities for the campers. At the beginning of the summer, campers received job

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[670] General Statement on the Children Helped by the Peter Strauss Fund to go to the NBSIS Camp in Boxford in the Summer of 1954. Archives of the North Bennet Street Industrial School, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA; Hutchinson, 78-79.
[671] 1932 Activities List; Proposals for a New Building, 1952(?), Archives of the North Bennet Street Industrial School, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA; "White Mountain Caddy Camps," *Boston Daily Globe,* August 13, 1916, page 55; Willard De Lue, "Fun that Comes Under Head of Work," *Boston Daily Globe,* August 8, 1926, page C23; Louis M. Lyons, "Caddy Season Opens at the Dispensary," *Boston Daily Globe,* May 1, 1932, page A42; Hutchinson, 81.

training skills as caddies at an elite golf course. Caddies were paid for their work on the golf course, but were expected to deposit their earnings in the camp bank, as well as pay rent to help defray the cost of the program. In the evenings, the caddies experienced a lifestyle akin to the traditional concept of summer camp, playing baseball, going swimming, and reading in their cabins. On their days off, they went hiking, horseback riding, or visited the movies in the nearby towns. Additionally campers were urged to follow in the footsteps of a Horatio Alger character in their off time. Caddies were regularly invited to attend lunch or visit the homes of the wealthy businessmen and financiers who were guests of the resorts and Caddy Camp made sure the campers had the resources to do so. Just like Alger's heroes, the spark of success often came from bumping elbows with wealthy elites who could show the boys the strength of character and moral fiber within.[672]

For most Caddy Campers, the experience in the White Mountains extended beyond the summer program. Throughout the year campers participated in events such as the annual Caddy Show and Chorus, a vaudevillian style performance designed to raise funds for the program. Caddy Campers met throughout the year to prepare for the summer and elect officials for their summertime community. Their work in the summer also carried over to the beginning of the school year, even after paying for their living expenses at camp, they often had hundreds of dollars left in the camp bank to then spend on books and other school supplies when they returned to Boston in the fall. Providing

[672] 1955 NBSIS News Bulletin, Lesson Outline for Caddy Course, 1932 Activities List, Proposal for a New Building, 1952 (?). Archives of the North Bennet Street Industrial School, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA; "Maplewood Cady Camp Makes for Better Boys," *Christian Science* Monitor, September 4, 1935; Hutchinson, 80-81.

Caddy Campers with the financial skills to succeed in America was often assessed by looking at educational success. Settlement Houses looked to the high school graduation rates and college admissions of Caddy Camp alumni and took particular pride in seeing boys help pay their way through school by caddying at golf courses near Dartmouth or Cornell.[673]

Unlike scouting programs or wealthy summer camps, the outdoor education programs of the North Bennet Street School did not have slick brochures or a national resource base upon which to draw. Instead, the settlement house relied on word of mouth and a close relationship between the educators and the families in the North End. By reaching out, tenement house by tenement house and family by family, the educators were forced to create programs that served the needs of the community. Through the early adventures of Travel Camp and the transformational experiences of Caddy Camp, parents saw the value of outdoor education for their children and chose to send sibling after sibling on the outdoor adventures of the North Bennet Street Industrial School. Settlement House outdoor education programs may have been a tool to reinforce cultural boundaries on immigrant populations, but they also served as a social safety net, providing child care for parents and addressing public health issues. In addition, these experience were also attractive to the children who experienced them, creating warm relationships with and in the mountains of New England. One anonymous camper

[673] Proposal for a New Building, 1952 (?). Archives of the North Bennet Street Industrial School, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA; "Boys Leave for Camp," *Boston Daily Globe*, July 1, 1916, page 2; "White Mountain Caddy Camps," *Boston Daily Globe,* August 13, 1916, page 55; Willard De Lue, "Fun that Comes Under Head of Work," *Boston Daily Globe,* August 8, 1926, page C23; Louis M. Lyons, "Caddy Season Opens at the Dispensary," *Boston Daily Globe,* May 1, 1932, page A42; Hutchinson, 81-82.

reflected on his experiences at Caddy Camps for the 1942 promotional camp booklet describing his experiences:

> The warm joys of Camp must be lived and not read from cold paper to give them true worth. For here, many mellow friendships take root in youthful hearts to grow until those youths have reached the twilight of their years. . . . [It taught] how to sacrifice selfish ends for the common weal; to learn the practical application of the term "team work." It has sent me to College. It has given me the love for the mountains. It has taught me the songs of the birds and the trees. It has brought me to a love for fleeting clouds and for the setting sun that so wondrously makes the western sky a huge kaleidoscope with its many varied colors.[674]

Although it is easy to read cultural oppression into the Americanization process of these programs, the existence of these particular outdoor education programs continued because the immigrant families also saw value in the lessons learned.

Whether on Thompson Island, Charlesbank Playground, or Maplewood Caddy Camp, the disadvantaged children of Boston experienced the Romantic ideals of outdoor pedagogy first hand. Unlike the wealthy upper middle class summer camps that created fantasy worlds in a manufactured wilderness, the urban outdoor programs used limited resources to directly focus on addressing concerns of the working class, particularly regarding crime, job training, and child care. But these solutions to the problems of urban Boston drew from the same Romantic ideals that promoted connecting children to the natural world, providing physical challenges in the outdoors, and strengthening the bonds of community and social responsibility. By creating space for children to be

[674] "Caddy Camp by a Caddy" booklet, March 1942. Archives of the North Bennet Street Industrial School, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

physical and connect to nature, as in the programs of Charlesbank and the North Bennet Street School, children would be able to embrace their inherent goodness by playing in a natural environment. Through practicing the political and economic institutions of American society on Thompson Island's Cottage Row or in Maplewood's Caddy Camp, children were able to learn the *rugged communalism* necessary for the survival of the democratic system.

Chapter 7: Tenting on the Old Camp Ground

For many of the over 2 million soldiers who served the Union during the American Civil War, sleeping in tents, socializing around the campfire, and moving across the country-side were new experiences. The war gave them an opportunity to travel and experience the landscape of distant parts of their country. With a pack on their backs, they hiked its roads, camped in its fields, and explored its forests. They gathered around open fires, spent their winters living in cabins, hunted and foraged for food, and created for themselves close-knit communities where the strength of their relationships meant the difference between life and death. Campfires signaled the end of a long march, warmth, hot coffee, and often an emotional safety zone. The imagery and the emotions attached to the Civil War camp experience had a powerful impact on the development of outdoor education as the experience was distilled into family history and the memory of war.

Turn-of-the-century middle-class parents saw value in getting their children back to nature, but a wilderness life was rarely part of their own lived experience. For this generation of parents and educators, a much closer experience with a life outdoors existed in the memories and family stories of the Civil War generation. Travel and experience in the out-of-doors held the potential to challenge twentieth-century youth to develop their strength of character in much the same way as their grandfathers had. By travelling on foot with packs on their backs, facing the challenges of the elements together, mastering skills that would help them serve their fellow citizens, and finally by celebrating their

community around the campfire, these early twentieth century youth could recapture the positive experiences of the past in order to better thrive in the future. Most importantly, by intentionally removing the violence and militarism of the battlefield while maintaining the camaraderie and sense of duty of the Civil War veterans, these outdoor educators offered what they hoped would be in William James' words, the *Moral Equivalent of War*.

David Blight's exploration of the changing meaning of the Civil War in his 2001 work *Race and Reunion* opens and closes with the fiftieth anniversary reunion of the Battle of Gettysburg in 1913. At that event, the Grand Army of the Republic and the United Confederate Veterans gathered together on the great Pennsylvania battlefield joined by a small youth organization that was then only three years old, the Boy Scouts of America. The Scouts served their grandfathers' at the reunion by guiding lost veterans, administering first aid, and carrying messages for the organizers, but they were also there because their parents and Scout Masters felt that there were particular lessons that could be learned from these old heroes of the Civil War. The intergenerational bond between the Scouts and the veterans was summed up by *The Washington Post* as follows:

> That the attraction was mutual seems also to have been equally certain. The withered hand was soon laid on the young shoulders, nor was it long until gray locks and boyish curls were brought close together as the tale of a vanished but never-to-be-forgotten day was poured into willing ears. Thus, the genuine practical aid given by the Boy Scouts to the aged men, as was the case over and over again during the reunion, was more than paid back in a direct manner, not to dwell upon the constantly increasing value of the associations as they will be recalled in later years. It is in the vital link thus forged between the passing and the coming generations that the great value of the Boy Scout contact with the veterans of the two

> armies really lies. . . . There must come the feeling that each old 'vet' handed on the heritage of the nation's faith to his boy attendant, much as did the aged apostle to the youthful Timothy: 'The things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also.'[675]

It was valuable to serve others and practice the skills of first aid, but what these young Scouts gained there as nowhere else was the opportunity to join in an experience that captured the memory, nostalgia, and camaraderie of the war, the experience of *Tenting on the Old Camp Ground*.[676]

The leaders of the outdoor education movement were either too young to have fought in the Civil War or they were the children of the Civil War generation, born after Appomattox. These men and women lived in the shadow of what James McPherson has called the "original Greatest Generation."[677] As the first generation of outdoor education professionals, they saw strengths in their parents that they wanted to pass on to their children, but they needed to find a way to differentiate themselves from militarism in order to prove that outdoor education was a method of youth development, not a prep school for soldiers.

In the fifty years after the Civil War, the transformation of camp from wartime experience to summer educational adventure required three important steps. First, as the veterans aged, their collective rituals and writings transformed the memory of war into a nostalgic longing for *The Camp*. This transformation allowed their children and

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[675] "Boy Scouts at Gettysburg," *The Washington Post*, July 6, 1913, page ES4.
[676] David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001.)
[677] James McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

grandchildren to identify with the experience of war through the positive associations of the camp ground. Second, the early outdoor educators adopted the imagery of camp and drill, but redirected it toward peaceful and civic activities, instead of violence and militarism. Finally, the rituals and reunions of Civil War veterans incorporated their grandchildren, creating opportunities for both groups to reconstruct narratives of reconciliation and the meaning of citizenship.

The Image of Camp

The space of "camp" was an environment constructed by the soldiers during the war. Bound by light and sound, by tents and pickets, camp was a mobile space that served both physical and emotional needs in the lives of the soldiers, the central feature of which was the camp fire, the ancient symbol of the hearth. (Figure 7.1) The light and warmth of the fire drew small groups of soldiers together, it welcomed them at the end of a long march, and distant campfires defined the space of the enemy's ground. In the communities formed around the campfire, soldiers found a restoration of their humanity and an escape from the random and nightmarish agony of battle. Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain observed that after "such severe experience the two days and nights before left the men utterly exhausted. But they gathered the sticks for their little fires, and unrolled their slender haversacks, disclosing treasures that were mostly remnants, whether pork or sugar, biscuit or blankets – things provided for their earthly sustenance while they were contending for ideals to come true."[678] The camp was a space for emotional release, one of longing as well as healing, and as such it was a positive space

[678] Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain, *The Passing of the Armies*. (New York: Barnes and Noble, 2004. Originally published in 1915.), 142.

carved out from a tragic and horrible landscape of war. Through the pages of newspapers like *Harper's Weekly*, the imagery of this sacred space of camp reached the home front. Through woodcuts like "The Soldiers Dream" (Figure 7.2) the camp ground formed a link between the battlefield and the hearth of home, linking the fight and the reason for fighting through a column of smoke.

The activities that defined camp and the physical environment they constructed differentiated two types of camps: the bivouac and the extended quarters. For armies on the move, the bivouac was the goal of a long day's march. Setting up this temporary space required pitching tents, gathering wood, lighting fires, cooking food and making coffee. This was the reward for a long day of hiking across the country side, dealing with the natural elements, and hefting a full pack. (Figure 7.3) In the evening, songs, stories, and dancing went on around the fire light. (Figure 7.4) When the army was not on the move, in the winter for example, they established more permanent quarters, living in cabins of their own construction and the music, poetry, card playing, and other campfire activities moved inside. (Figures 7.5-7.7) Drill, practice and training during the day honed the skills of the soldiers and prepared them to face the challenges and uncertainties of battle. In both bivouac and quarters, sports and physical games filled the time between drill, meals, and sleep. (Figure 7.8)

The daily lives of Civil War soldiers consisted of three basic elements: drill, battle, and life at camp. For Daniel George Macnamara, an officer in the Ninth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, the regiment's arrival at its first camp in Boston

Harbor was "where our real soldiering days at last commenced."[679] Macnamara recalled the experience of hiking through the forests of Virginia, carrying his weapon, a pack full of three days rations, water, and other necessities into the evening, until the blazing fires of camp quickened his step and welcomed him to his home in the field.[680] Once in camp, the work of soldiering became a shared responsibility and collective effort that required some to focus on collecting fire wood, others to tend to the food cooking by the fire, the setting up of tents, drills, and guard duty. (Figure 7.9) In the daily routines of camp life, soldiers attended the basic needs of themselves and each other, while the experience of drill focused them on the preparations to act reflexively and collaboratively in the face of battle.

Although the shockingly graphic photographic images taken by Mathew Brady, Alexander Gardner, Timothy O'Sullivan and others appear regularly in histories of the Civil War, these were seen by fewer contemporaries than the woodcut images in national papers like *Harper's Weekly* and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*. Their images often framed the experience of war for those on the home front and included scenes of battle and of camp life. In Winslow Homer's "A Bivouac Fire on the Potomac" (Figure 7.10) from *Harper's Weekly*, camp life is represented as a positive and jovial experience. Gathered around a roaring fire, white soldiers sing, play cards, and relax as a black fiddler and dancer entertain. The stoic expressions on the sentries in the background speak to the responsibility and commitment of protecting this group, but the convivial

[679] Daniel George Macnamara, *The History of the Ninth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2000), 11.
[680] Macnamara, 43.

atmosphere of the camp is the dominant tone. The singing, dancing, games, and collective warmth of and around the fire defined the ritual experience of the camp.

Sound and music were central to defining the space of Camp. Daniel Macnamara noted that Col. Cass of the Irish 9th Massachusetts had a great love for roaring bonfires and large groups of men congregating to sing, dance, and play music. These entertainments would continue late into the evening and did a great deal to boost the morale of the 9th during the Peninsular Campaign.[681] Acknowledging the musical role of recreation at camp, General William H Hayward published *Camp Songs for the Soldier* in 1864, a small book that bore the imagery of camp, singing, relaxing, and a campfire on its cover. (Figure 7.11) The sound of camp could also link opposing armies, reminding them of their mutual humanity. As Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain recalled, "It was no uncommon incident that from close opposing bivouacs and across hushed breastworks at evening voices of prayer from over the way would stir our hearts, and floating songs of love and praise be caught up and broadened into a mighty and thrilling chorus by our men softening down in cadences like enfolding wings. Such moments were surely a 'Truce of God.'"[682]

Although many songs associated with the American Civil War were hawkish and strongly patriotic, one of the most lasting tunes was not an uplifting patriotic marching tune celebrating the flag, the defeat of the traitor, and the importance of courage. *Tenting*

[681] Macnamara, 75.
[682] Chamberlain, 13.

on the Old Camp Ground spoke to the restorative role of camp in the emotional lives of the soldiers: Tenting on the Old Camp Ground[683]

1. We're tenting tonight on the old Camp ground, Give us a song to cheer
   Our weary hearts, a song of home, and friends we love so dear.
2. We've been tenting tonight on the old Camp ground, Thinking of days gone by,
   Of the lov'd ones at home that gave us the hand, and the tear that said, "Good bye!"
3. We are tired of war on the old Camp ground, Many are dead and gone,
   Of the brave and true who've left their homes, Others been wounded long.
4. We've been fighting today on the old Camp ground, Many are lying near;
   Some are dead and some are dying, Many are in tears.

CH: Many are the hearts that are weary tonight, Wishing for the war to cease.

Many are the hearts looking for the right To see the dawn of peace.

Tenting tonight, Tenting tonight, Tenting on the old Camp ground.

Last verse: Dying tonight, Dying tonight, Dying on the old Camp ground.

After a day of fighting, with dead and dying lying near, these soldiers were allowed to be tired, to cry, and to dream of home once they reached the sacred space of camp. For soldiers who had seen the harsh darkness of war, tenting together and reflecting on home and friends, as well as hopes for peace in the future, was the real light of motivation.

Popularized on the home front by the New Hampshire musical group the Hutchinson Family, *Tenting on the Old Camp Ground* was widely distributed through sheet music bearing the images of the camp sites on its cover page. (Figure 7.12) The popularity of the song continued well after the war and promoted the restorative and social importance of camp for veterans. Sheet music for *Tenting To Night* from 1890

[683] Walter Kittredge. *Tenting on the Old Camp Ground*, Notated Music, 1864. Library of Congress.

utilizes a richly detailed lithograph of a camp scene, with five Union soldiers warming themselves by a fire on a peaceful night. (Figure 7.13) The song was also reproduced in the 1892 edition of the *Canteen and Haversack*, a collection of readings, songs, and records assembled by the Grand Army of the Republic and served as "A Manual of Information, of Interest to every Union Veteran Soldier, and all Patriotic Citizens. For the Home, Camp-Fire, Reception and Entertainment."[684] In addition to the original version, the *Canteen and Haversack* included a song titled *Thinking To-Night* that was to be sung to the tune of *Tenting To Night*. This rewrite demonstrates that image of "the old camp ground" still possessed a power in the minds of veterans that tightly wove memory, nostalgia, and the need to heal emotional wounds and find peace.

Thinking To-Night[685]

1. We are thinking tonight of the old camp ground,
   Where the bosom of earth was one bed,
   Through the years that we passed in that wearisome round.
   Till the last good-by was said.
2. How brief seem the years since we drifted apart,
   Since with thousands old time has stood still,
   Yet those memories linger in each loving heart,
   While their places no other can fill.

Ch: Many are the men we remember tonight.
Whose loss fills our hearts with regret,
Whose forms fondly cherished have passed from our sight,
But whose deeds we shall never forget.
Living to-night, dying to-night, Thinking of the old camp ground.

[684] *Canteen and Haversack of the Grand Army of the Republic*, (New York: R. H. Russell & Sons, 1892), frontispiece.
[685] *Canteen and Haversack of the Grand Army of the Republic*. 64.

In these evenings and moments of emotional vulnerability as the veterans looked back upon the war, the call to *Rally 'Round the Flag* rang hollow. That *Tenting To Night* continues to survive in the canon of campfire music speaks to the lasting importance of this message of peace and reflection that extended from the fires of war to the twentieth century campfires of the outdoor education movement.

In exploring the words of Civil War soldiers written during, not after, the war, James McPherson's *For Cause and Comrades* describes the Civil War generation as a distinctly different type of people from twenty-first century Americans. Driven by honor, duty, and strong leadership, McPherson's soldiers experienced a sense of group cohesion that united them with each other and in support of their cause. Regardless of their initial motivations to fight, this group cohesion came from their shared experience in military life and resulted in the moral development of their own sense of responsibility and duty. This experience was what came to define them and they often saw it as the source of their strength. But the tragic intense reality of battle often left moral and emotional wreckage in its wake.[686] As Drew Gilpin Faust's *This Republic of Suffering* reveals, the randomness and the nightmarish agony of death in the Civil War led to a dramatic challenge of American perspectives on death and the afterlife, but also left deep scars on the psyches of those affected by the war.[687] The challenge for the Americans of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was to figure out if the positive elements of war could be isolated from the devastating elements and transformed into a pedagogical

[686] McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades.*
[687] Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008).

approach that would develop the physical and moral characters of youth, without leading to the death and destruction that came from war.

The need to pay homage to the war, to find ways to make sense of it, led to a discourse of recreation. Through encampments of veterans, the erection of monuments, and the publication of commemorative books, the American public sought ways to honor the sacrifices of the Civil War generation. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* had been one of the most important newspapers during the war and, like *Harper's Weekly,* it captured images of the battlefield and the campfire. The images of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated* would make a resurgence at the close of the nineteenth century in the commemorative book *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Famous Leaders and Battle Scenes of the Civil War* published in 1896. This book reissued many of the most stunning images from the war years and helped to frame the memory of the war for a generation that would have been too young to have read the original papers. The richly detailed images recreated the experience of the war in the viewer's mind, including the values expressed in camp life. In *Eleventh 'ndiana Zouaves in Camp McGinnis* (Figure 7.14) soldiers are cleaning their weapons, relaxing, and tending to their hygiene, suggesting the clean living that was supposedly learned in camp.

Many of the images in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Famous Leaders and Battle Scenes of the Civil War* follow these patterns of relaxed soldiers around a camp fire or the visual uniformity of soldiers in drill, but two in particular stand out in their unique representation of camp life. *Camp Zagonyi – Encampment of Fremont's Army on the*

Prairie (Figure 7.15) links a stunning landscape with camp life. The rays of the setting sun illuminate the camp, where tents are organized in neat rows, and soldiers relax and cook around a central fire. The landscape here is not meant to suggest the terrain of battle, but a link between the divine represented in nature and the moral cause of the war. These are God's rays shining down upon the peace of a camp filled with strong moral men fulfilling their duty and tending to each other's needs. The caption described the camp as "more like a monster picnic than the advanced corps of an army bent on the destruction of traitorous brothers."[688] This image captured the strength and beauty of the positive elements of war without suggesting the harsh realities of violent death.

Another image which stands out in the Leslie collection is *Camp Life in the West* (Figure 7.16). This montage of images represents the campfire as a multiracial meeting ground, where Native Americans perform a war dance around the fire as white soldiers look on, and where an African-American stands in judgment of the dancing ability of a white soldier. The space created around the fire was one of interracial cooperation where "Pagans and Christians (are) traveling as companions on the same warpath"[689] This egalitarian vision is one which was certainly out of place on the battlefields of memory or the city streets of late nineteenth century America. But in the romance of the campfire and in the context of a noble war, such crossroads existed. By David Blight's account, the utopian racial equality represented in *Camp Life in the West* was long since a

[688] Louis Shepheard Moat, ed. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Famous Leaders and Battle Scenes of the Civil War* (New York: Mrs. Frank Leslie, Publisher, 1896), 244.
[689] Moat, 256.

forgotten dream when *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Famous Leaders and Battle Scenes of the Civil War* was published.[690]

Amidst this environment of nostalgia for the war and the imagery of camp, the YMCA began offering summer camp experiences as part of their curriculum. When the YMCA building in Hartford, Connecticut was constructed in 1892, a terra-cotta sculpture was placed over the fireplace in the Youth Lobby. (Figure 7.17) The sculpture drew heavily from the camp imagery of the Civil War, with young men and boys together in an intergenerational experience, relaxing near a fire, cooking dinner over the flames, and gathered in front of their tent under the sweeping boughs of the forest. Fishing poles join rifles in the hands of the group, suggesting a more sporting than militarist adventure. The sculpture hung on the mantle of the Hartford YMCA until the building was torn down in 1972, when it was then removed to YMCA Camp Jewell in Colebrook, Connecticut where it now hangs over the fire in the main office, continuing to link an imagery forged in war with the experiences of a new generation of campers.

Contested Memory and Pedagogy

In the years after 1865, the conflicts of the American Civil War were fought on the battlefields of memory, often pitting generations as adversaries struggling to define

[690] David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001.) 2-3. Blight identifies three competing visions for the meaning of the war that surface in the years fifty years after Appomattox. The first is one of reconciliation, where the emotionally scarred combatants work to forgive and forget in order to embrace their brothers across the Mason Dixon Line. The second is a white supremacist vision utilizing terror and violence in order to subvert the actions of Reconstruction and the political equality of African-Americans. And the third was the emancipationist vision of African-Americans seeking to maintain the Constitutional equality that was promised them immediately after the war. Blight's assessment is that given the competing values of *healing* and *justice*, Americans chose healing, with the dominant memory of the war being framed by the reconciliationists allied with the white supremacists, at the exclusion of the emancipationists.

the meanings and lessons of the war, while also trying to salvage antebellum ideals. This contest over meaning spilled over into the classroom as educators debated how the war influenced pedagogy and the curriculum. Within this debate, proponents of militarism argued for increased martial training in schools while others argued for the development of moral equivalents to the demands of war. A passion for team sports filled the void as a potential answer to this debate, while more scientifically oriented educators promoted individualized physical training regimens and gymnastics.[691] One little known such battle took place in 1873 on the campus of Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Maine. Here, the forces of the old guard, rallied around a Medal of Honor winning hero of the Battle of Gettysburg in opposition to a young college student who would later redefine physical education for the twentieth century. Their conflict foreshadowed the challenges that would complicate the early years of the outdoor education movement. Public perceptions of militarism in youth programs and the conflicts between those in power with those on the ground influenced the educational aims of youth and college programs that strove to build the next generation of American youth.

Although too young to respond to the defense of the Union, Dudley Allen Sargent followed the events of the war with rapt attention. In 1862, at the age of 13, Sargent dropped out of school and went to help the war effort as a laborer building the government battery defending his home of East Belfast, Maine. The following year he returned to school, crediting his year of heavy physical labor with his transformation into

[691] Donald J. Mrozek, *Sport and American Mentality, 1880-1910.* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983).

a better student more appreciative of intellectual labor.[692] A physically gifted boy, Sargent discovered gymnastics and ran away to the circus, becoming a trapeze artist and travelling across New England. But the performing life failed to satisfy Sargent and in 1869 he accepted a full time position as the director of the gymnasium at Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Maine, a position that would both provide him with a livelihood and pay for his college education.

Sargent's new professional involvement in physical education coincided with a rising national interest in the need for physical training in America's youth. Like many Northerners at the time, Sargent believed that one of the lessons of the war was that at the outbreak of the war, many Northern youth were unfit for service. He vividly remembered the unhealthy men and boys being grouped together, quickly and inadequately trained, and then sent off to die.[693] By the 1870's this was a major concern in the national educational dialog and one of the most widely accepted approaches to remedy this was the incorporation of military drill into the academic curriculum. In a move that also illustrated the lobbying power of the Grand Army of the Republic, Congress offered its support of this approach by providing trained military officers to any school that needed them.[694] But for Sargent and the other students at Bowdoin, there were other reasons to be fit that did not involve preparing for battle. Many of the students came from or went back to work in the mills and lumber camps of Maine, and the academic achievements of

[692] Dudley Allen Sargent, *Dudley Allen Sargent: An Autobiography* Edited by Ledyard Sargent. (Philadelphia: Lea & Febiger, 1927), 31-32.
[693] Sargent, 30.
[694] Sargent, 98.

the classroom meant little if it couldn't be backed up with a little brawn. For this reason, when Sargent first arrived, physical education at Bowdoin meant boxing.[695]

Although he could hold his own in the ring, Sargent quickly observed that the boxing curriculum at Bowdoin was far from an adequate physical education program. He observed that the strong and healthy students were regularly appearing at the gym, while the weak and less able bodied members most in need of training stayed far away. His revolutionary approach, later known as the Sargent Method, assessed each student's physical state with both a tape measure and a series of physical tests and then developed a specialized training program for that individual suited to his abilities and limitations. Although time intensive on his part, this approach allowed for each student to increase their physical abilities, thereby raising the overall health of the student body as a whole. In 1872, the new president at Bowdoin College helped Sargent's work by making physical education mandatory for all students, but with the added support came a different message that challenged Sargent and his methods.[696]

General Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain was a professor at Bowdoin before the war came, and although he had no prior military experience before 1861, he was a quick learner. Having defended the left flank of the Union line on Little Round Top, Chamberlain arguably saved the Army of the Potomac at the Battle of Gettysburg, an act for which he would later be awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor. Seriously wounded at the siege of Petersburg, Chamberlain survived and served as the presiding

[695] Sargent, 94.
[696] Sargent, 101.

general over Lee's surrender at Appomattox. Following the war, he was elected four times to the Governor's office in Augusta before becoming the President of Bowdoin. An active member of the Grand Army of the Republic, few northern men redefined their identity more effectively as a Union veteran than General Chamberlain. His faith in the military drill method of physical training motivated him to open a Department of Military Science and tactics during his first year as president in 1871.[697] Initially supportive of Sargent's work as it supported his own aims, Chamberlain also helped to make gymnasium attendance required the following year.

Although following different pedagogic methods, the gymnastic training and military drill requirements were yoked in the minds of students and the faculty community, foreshadowing a confusion that would be typical of the outdoor education movement well into the twentieth century. Combined as a Physical Culture requirement, both programs shared the aims of building the physical and moral character of the students and the increased stress on both programs led to improvements and changes to the college's facilities. The conflation of Sargent's approach and military drill resulted in the daily scene of the military brass band practicing on the top floor of the gymnasium, providing music for the gymnasts below.[698] But although the aims were similar, the methods were not. The newly established military approach broke down the student body into four companies, organized with no account for varying physical skill or ability. Sargent's training programs needed to be geared toward the weakest member of the

[697] Sargent, 102.
[698] Sargent, 103-110.

company, leaving the majority of the students unchallenged and not receiving the maximum benefits from the physical training. The excitement of the gymnasium was lost, and morale began to collapse. Sargent realized that in supporting the President, he had compromised his own work.[699]

As the spring of 1874 came, the emphasis of the Physical Culture program shifted from the gymnasium to the military parade ground, and Sargent left Maine for a summer position at the Yale University Gymnasium. Shortly after his departure, rebellion broke out on the Bowdoin campus. Suffering from low morale and feeling disrespected by the officer corps, the students organized an open protest, took the parade ground, stacked their arms, and refused to participate in military drill. In the resulting fallout, the faculty revealed plans to dissolve the gymnasium program for economic reasons, with Sargent's payroll being the responsibility of the college, while the military education program was billed to the Federal government. Bowdoin was not alone in its wish to shift to a purely military approach. Fueled by the political support of the Grand Army men who sought employment as instructors in military education at colleges and high schools around the country, the military drill approach to physical education had developed a broad base of support, although not a universal one. Sargent and his students experienced the effectiveness of the more individualized method and the Military Rebellion of 1874 forced Chamberlain and the faculty into retreat. When classes began in the fall of 1874,

[699] Sargent, 119-120.

students could choose to fulfill their Physical Culture requirement by taking either the gymnastic or the military program. Most students went to the gym.[700]

The Military Rebellion at Bowdoin illustrates a number of issues that complicated the physical education movement while highlighting some serious questions within the early outdoor education movement. At face value, physical culture advocates like Sargent shared the same goals as those proponents of militarism, both camps wanted to improve the physical bodies and moral character of American youths. By rallying to that common ground, educators would be able to marshal the considerable political support of veterans and political hawks, providing a necessary argument and funding for their programs. But it could turn to a devil's bargain, losing the importance of individual character within the regimental drills of a military unit. For outdoor educators to be successful and true their more Transcendental vision of education, they needed a middle ground.

The camaraderie and positive association of camp only grew in the years after the war. The Union's largest veteran's organization, the Grand Army of the Republic, referred to their major reunions as "Encampments" and often included tenting out as part of the events. The male youth auxiliary, the Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War, was also organized into local groups called "Camps." In the *Canteen and Haversack*, a collection of poems, songs, and statistics published for the 1893 GAR Encampment, the imagery of camp repeatedly surfaced, although with an expanded significance. (Figure 7.18) In the three decades since the war ended, time and old age claimed lives that Confederate bullets had not, and "camp" became the "Bivouac of the Dead" where they

[700] Sargent, 123-126.

would be reunited with "Comrades long since gone before, Tenting now on mystic shore."[701] The memories of the Civil War had a lasting impact on the children of the Civil War generation, apparent in the way they raised their own children and organized youth programs that incorporated the imagery of the war while carefully negotiating the issues of militarism. Scout leaders had grown up with the adventurous stories of their fathers, but they also knew of the destructive consequences of war, the scars it left. The landscape of camp provided a common ground that outdoor educators and veterans could agree upon. Emotionally charged, but not violent, physically experiential without threatening the loss of life, by incorporating the language, rituals, and imagery of the Civil War camp experience, outdoor educators could create a space where their children could experience the moral and physical development of their fathers, without suffering the consequences of post-traumatic stress or the loss of life and limb.

Moral Equivalent of War and Re-experiencing the Civil War

William James addressed this double-edged sword of teaching militarism in his 1910 essay "The Moral Equivalent of War." James' opening paragraph makes clear how central the memory of the Civil War is to his argument.

> The war against war is going to be no holiday excursion or camping party. The military feelings are too deeply grounded to abdicate their place among our ideals until better substitutes are offered than the glory and shame that come to nations, as well as individuals, from the ups and downs of politics and the vicissitudes of trade. There is something highly paradoxical in the modern man's relation to war. Ask all our millions, North and South, whether they would vote now (were such a thing possible) to have our War for the Union expunged from history, and the record of a peaceful transition to the present time substituted for that of its

[701] Isaac Tyson, *Canteen and Haversack of the Grand Army of the Republic*. (New York: R.H. Russell & sons, 1893), 56, 63.

> marches and battles, and probably hardly a handful of eccentrics would say yes. Those ancestors, those efforts, those memories and legends, are the most ideal part of what we now own together, a sacred spiritual possession worth more than all the blood poured out. Yet, ask those same people whether they would be willing, in cold blood, to start another civil war now, to gain a similar possession, and not one man or woman would vote for the proposition.[702]

James saw a certain inevitability in militarism, one which had been bred into the human race over centuries and one that had been celebrated since antiquity. He wrote: "Dead men tell no tales, and if there were tribes of other type than this, they have left no survivors. Our ancestors have bred pugnacity into our bone and marrow, and thousands of years of peace won't breed it out of us."[703] As a contemporary example, James pointed to the irrational frenzies generated around the Boer and the Spanish-American Wars. Although he saw himself as an antimilitarist, he observed that the biggest weakness of most pacifist arguments is that it rejected all of militarism, rather than observing that some good came with the horror of war. The challenge of creating a "Moral Equivalent of War" was finding a way to not throw out the baby with the bathwater.

James viewed militarism as a type of romanticism, one which exalted the potential of humanity in a way that could not be done in the role of teacher or shopkeeper. "Militarism is the great preserver of our ideals of hardihood, and human life without hardihood would be contemptible. Without risk or prizes for the darer, history

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[702] William James, "The Moral Equivalent of War," *McClures Magazine, Volume XXXV, May-October 1910*. (New York: S.S. McClure Company, 1910), 463.
[703] James, 464.

would be insipid indeed."[704] Among the virtues James identified with militarism included: "Fidelity, cohesiveness, tenacity, heroism, conscience, education, inventiveness, economy, wealth, physical health, and vigor."[705] In addition to the individual moral development, war served a social role of binding together a society in a way that few other endeavors could. The positive aspect of war was that it could unite a community into a state of rugged communalism that would advance the skills and abilities within the group. The drawback, of course, was that war also led to death, destruction, crippling personal injury, and potential economic collapse. But even those horrors sparked a sense of excitement and thrill, especially in young minds. If however that horror could be replaced by something more moral, yet still sublime and capable of exciting the people, then an equivalent of war could be created.

James' solution to the problem was to create a national service program that would "preserve some of the old elements of army discipline."[706] He was concerned that America was developing into a society with a serious gap between rich and poor, with a significant portion of the population born into a lifetime of toil and inferiority while a much smaller percentage lived a life of ease. He suggested that instead of a military conscription, there should be "a conscription of the whole youthful population to form for a certain number of years a part of the army enlisted against *nature*."[707] These soldiers would take on the most difficult jobs in society in order to maintain the values of hardihood. This included working in coal and iron mines, freight trains, the winter

[704] James, 465.
[705] James, 465.
[706] James, 467.
[707] James, 467.

fishing fleet, dish washing, road and tunnel building, foundries, and the construction of skyscrapers, among other pursuits. In this way, these young men would develop pride and self-confidence while also serving their country. "We should get toughness without callousness, authority with as little criminal cruelty as possible, and painful work done cheerily because the duty is temporary, and threatens not, as now, to degrade the whole remainder of one's life."[708] William James' method of creating a moral equivalent of war resonated with a number of national movements in twentieth-century America including the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Peace Corps, and AmeriCorps. But the pioneer in making James' vision a reality was the Boy Scouts of America.

In creating the Boy Scout movement, educators and community leaders hoped to capture positive experiences often associated with military service, those that developed camaraderie, service, and courage, while rejecting violence and war. Although incorporating bugle calls, military uniforms, and links with veteran organizations, the early Scout leaders were consciously trying to separate their organization from the military, creating a concept known as "Peace Scouting." The original *Handbook for Scout Masters*, printed in 1914, noted that in addition to being non-sectarian, non-partisan, and working in cooperation with civic enterprises, the scouts are "non-military, and seek to promote Peace Scouting and to develop educational character-building for good citizenship."[709] Later in the text, the author states: "Military men have greatly aided the Movement with their support, but it is essential because the character of the

[708] James, 468.
[709] Boy Scouts of America, *Handbook for Scout Masters*. (New York: Boy Scouts of America, 1914), 6.

Movement is Peace Scouting, to have men as officers in the Council who are not connected with the military, so that the ideas of peaceful scouting activity which we seek to promote, may find greater favor and more hearty support in the minds of the general public."[710] In case there was any confusion in the minds of potential Scout Masters, the Handbook directly stated "The primary object of the Boy Scouts of America is not military, but Peace Scouting and educational character-building for good citizenship."[711] That so much clear differentiation from the military was needed suggests that there was much confusion in the minds of the American public about the role of militarism in the Boy Scouts. Perhaps James was correct that thousands of generations of militarism had resulted in the general assumption that what looked like a soldier must in fact be a soldier.

For this moral equivalent of war to be successful, the scouts themselves needed to be able to differentiate their movement from the military. In the opening chapter of the *Handbook for Boys*, Peace Scouts were described as "the men of all ages, who have gone out on new and strange adventures, and through their work have benefited the people of the earth. . . They had to know and be able to find their way anywhere, without other chart of compass than the sun and stars, besides being able to interpret the meaning of the slightest signs of the forest and the foot tracks of animals and men."[712] The values of self-confidence, education, inventiveness, and fidelity were woven into a sense of adventure. Often these Peace Scouts were represented as being pioneers, but the description is

[710] Boy Scouts of America, *Handbook for Scout Masters*, 11.
[711] Boy Scouts of America, *Handbook for Scout Masters*, 24.
[712] Boy Scouts of America, *The Official Handbook for Boys*. (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1911), 4.

equally apt in capturing the adoration that grandchildren would have had for their grandfathers. Men who had fought to free other men, to reunite the nation, and who had survived countless adventures a half century before, but personalizing the experience of a Scout in a relationship with a veteran further complicated the concept of a "Peace Scout".

The American Scouting movement was a British import and the original design was even more clearly identified with military service. Robert S. S. Baden-Powell had enlisted in the British cavalry as a young man serving as a scout and spy in India. His skills as a tracker combined with his unique gifts as an artist led to his success and promotion. In one case, he claimed to have recorded the sketch of enemy fortifications within a naturalist drawing of a butterfly's wings.[713] Baden-Powell outlined the essential skills and practices of tracking and backcountry travel in a manual titled *Aids to Scouting* initially intended for a military audience. Shortly after its publication, he was transferred to South Africa to fight in the Boer War, where he led the British forces under siege in the city of Mafeking for 217 days. Returning to England a war hero and Britain's youngest Major General, he was surprised to find that in his absence, his *Aids to Scouting* had become extremely popular with English youth.[714] Concerned that young Britons were growing soft from luxury and urbanization, Baden-Powell used his fame to create the Brownsea Island program in 1907, organizing the first Boy Scout camp in what would become a much larger international movement.[715]

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[713] Chuck Wills, *Boy Scouts of America: A Centennial History* (New York: DK Publishing, 2009), 27.
[714] Wills, 28.
[715] Wills, 31.

Although Scouting in Britain emerged from the vision of its founder, Boy Scouting in America formed as an alliance of preexisting youth programs. After meeting with Baden-Powell in 1909, American businessman William Boyce began the process of securing the alliances of a variety of youth organizations in the US as well as the leading figures in youth outdoor education. Daniel Carter Beard, artist, author, outdoorsman, and son of a Union veteran, gained fame through his publication of *The American Boy's Handy Book* in 1882 which taught boys how to find adventure in the wilderness. In 1905, Beard organized the Sons of Daniel Boone, drawing inspiration from the myths of the pioneers as "Knights in Buckskin". Loosely organized nationally, it grouped youths into "Forts" made up of four "Stockades" each consisting of eight boys.[716] Another artist and author, Ernest Thompson Seton spent much of his life illustrating naturalist texts and was concerned that youth in the cities and towns of America were suffering a from a lack of wilderness contact resulting in a degraded moral and physical character. For him the ideal was the Native American and so in 1902, he created the Woodcraft Indians, an organization that saw the building of character as a more important aim of education than scholarship and which utilized rituals and activities inspired by Native American culture. The Woodcraft Indians were focused on non-competitive sports and organized "Braves" into "Bands" and larger "Tribes".[717] Boyce was able to convince Seton and Beard to combine their programs and partner with the YMCA's summer camp program in order to create the Boy Scouts of America in 1910, but it faced a number of conceptual challenges that stemmed from this union of ideals and imagery.

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[716] Wills, 19-21.
[717] Wills, 21-25.

Baden-Powell was a military man, and when he returned to England, he realized that his popular image was deeply linked with military service. Therefore, when it came to the organization of the Boy Scouts in Britain, the terms of "Troop" and "Patrol" were adopted, as was the military uniforms of the South African Constabulary and the British Army.[718] American Scouts followed suit, making the same clothing firm that produced U.S. Army and National Guard uniforms the Official National Outfitter of the Boy Scouts of America.[719] Economics and a slim market for outdoor recreation equipment had a major impact on what options Scouts had to choose from in the early years of the movement. Edward Cave's *The Boy Scout's Hike Book*, a technical manual focused on the skills needed for backcountry travel and based on Cave's years as a Scout Master, noted that much of the camping equipment on the market was not developed "as to the practical merit of an article" but rather because it was a novelty and might sell.[720] For the young Scout, there were really only two options for outdoor equipment: the lumberman's gear that was being produced and sold out of Duluth, Minnesota and the much cheaper and equally effective army surplus left over from the Spanish-American War.[721] The thin pocketbooks of young boys made this a pretty easy choice and so the boys would look like soldiers when they went out Scouting trips. The leaders of the Scout movement claimed that they were neither promoting nor discouraging youths from joining the military, but many parents were concerned that the organization served the role of

[718] Wills, 206.
[719] Boy Scouts of America, *The Official Handbook for Boys*. (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1911), advertisement on the first page.
[720] Edward Cave, *The Boy Scout's Hike Book*. (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1920), 24.
[721] Cave, 44.

coopting youth into military service.[722] The conflicting imagery and aims that had led to the Military Rebellion at Bowdoin were surfacing again four decades later on a much broader scale.

In addition to the challenge of refuting militarism in their program, the Boy Scouts of America needed to promote itself as a national organization with broad intellectual and political support. Throughout the pages of the original Boy Scout Handbook, the themes of alliance and unification are ever present. The Executive Board and the National Council of Scouting served as a who's who of American leadership. The Honorary President was William Taft, with the post of Honorary Vice-President being held by Col. Theodore Roosevelt. Daniel Carter Beard and Ernest Thompson Seton served on the Executive Board, and the National Council contained such luminaries as G. Stanley Hall, Admiral George Dewey, Gifford Pinchot, and Luther Gulick, a leading figure in the YMCA and the founder of the Campfire Girl program. In addition to these individuals was Gulick's former professor, the leading mind in American Physical Education at the time, the Director of the Hemmenway Gymnasium at Harvard University, and Bowdoin College alumnus, Dr. Dudley Sargent.

The aims of Scouting, as described in the original handbook, supplemented pre-existing educational programs and worked "to promote the ability in boys to do things for themselves and others."[723] The educational methods that Scouting introduced, known as Scoutcraft, were described as "a combination of observation, deduction, and handiness,

[722] Wills, 57.
[723] *The Official Handbook for Boys*, 3.

or the ability to do things."[724] Games and team play were the primary method in delivering the curriculum which organized subjects around merit badges including First Aid, Signaling, and Nature Study, but also Chivalry and Patriotism. In many ways, the *Boy Scout Handbook* was a peaceful version of the *Hardee's Manual of Arms*, the Civil War tactics manual used to drill new recruits. Where their grandfathers had drilled with rifles on the parade grounds, scouts drilled with bandages and semaphore flags. The military technical skills that helped build the confidence of the Civil War generation would be replaced with wilderness and rescue skills to develop the confidence of their grandchildren.

The Scout movement was at once a youth development program anchored in an anti-modern embrace of training students in a wilderness environment removed from the technological tools of man, while also honing a modern Jamesian ideal of a peaceful post-military world. But if that wasn't enough, the original aims of Scouting also reveal another complex political balance that the young national organization was trying to strike. In its expression of virtues, the authors stressed those of chivalry alongside those of thrift and industry, thereby attempting to embrace the antebellum ideals of both the South and the North in a post-Reconstruction America.

The delicate balancing of Northern and Southern perspectives in an homage to reconciliation is best represented in a chapter of *The Official Handbook for Boys* titled "Patriotism and Citizenship". In this short history of the United States ink is dedicated to each of the major events and wars of the first three hundred years of the American

[724] *The Official Handbook for Boys*, 3.

experience. Two pages are dedicated to the Civil War, significantly more than any other event with the exception of the Revolution, but the majority of the text is on the complexity of property ownership and Congressional action regarding the Constitution and the Louisiana Purchase. It is not until three quarters of the way through the text that the cause of the war is mentioned, which is described as: "And thus it happened that the slave-holding states, not being able to live at peace in the Union, decided to go out of it, and live by themselves. The right of a state to leave the Union was called "the right of secession" – a right which the North held did not exist under the Constitution."[725] The entirety of the actual conflict of the war was recounted in two sentences, which only mention Fort Sumter and Appomattox (one Confederate and one Union victory), as well as singling out Robert E. Lee and U.S. Grant as the only two relevant generals giving them equal titles and equal billing. The dry legalistic approach to accounting for the Civil War stands out in the chapter, especially when compared to events like the Revolution which employed much greater literary flourishes including phrases like "Now do we find ourselves at the fireside of American Patriotism"[726] but which also give equal status to George Washington "a Virginian" and John Adams "of Massachusetts". For this newly forming national organization, the need to take a reconciliationist stance on the causes and outcomes of the war was essential. To appear too Northern would mean that Scout Troops would not form in the South, and to appear too sympathetic to the Confederacy would have the same result in the North.

[725] *The Official Handbook for Boys*, 335.
[726] *The Official Handbook for Boys*, 326.

The one limb which the authors did go out on regarding the politics of the Civil War involved their veneration for Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln was given a two and a half page bio that noted his parents being from Virginia, but also that he worked to save the Union. Great care was taken to ensure that Lincoln's motivations for war were not represented as being to free the slaves, but rather to save the Union, which again set his memory within the reconciliation camp. Lincoln, as divisive as he may have been in the south, was still cast as the ideal American, to a great extent because he was raised in the wilderness. As the *Handbook* describes: "Lincoln's early life was cradled in the woods, and all of life out of doors had been his in the new and pioneer states of the wilderness. . . Doubtless it was the very hardships of life that made him what he was."[727] The solution to weak moral fiber as well as sectional tension in the United States rested in one thing, the wilderness experience. Here was the perfect example of the barefoot boy growing to become a national leader able to handle himself well in the face of the corruption of modern life.

The complexity of militarism was addressed again in discussing the Spanish American War. In the section that immediately followed the war, which is described as a war "not of this country's seeking,"[728] was a section on "Peace" opening with the line: "There is no country in the world less warlike than ours, and no country in the world that more potently argues for universal peace."[729] The Scouts, from the outset, were trapped within these concepts of militarism. They embraced their legacy and the strength of the

[727] *The Official Handbook for Boys*, 337.
[728] *The Official Handbook for Boys*, 338.
[729] *The Official Handbook for Boys*, 339.

military ideal on the one hand, while trying to deny and disassociate from that legacy on the other.

If the memory of former President Lincoln created complications for the new national organization regarding the memory of the Civil War, the role of former President Roosevelt introduced new challenges regarding Scouting's position on militarism. Few Americans leaders, before or since, have personified the ideals of the *Strenuous Life* more than Theodore Roosevelt.[730] His energy and widespread popularity with youth made him an essential figurehead for a youth organization focused on outdoor activity for moral development. But his persona also brought with it an identification of militarism. The Boy Scouts of America awarded the position of "Honorary President" to then US President Taft, but Col. Roosevelt was made the "Honorary Vice President" and given the opportunity to pen the closing chapter of the original handbook. In his letter to the scouts on "Practical Citizenship" he danced around the issue of militarism and scouting. As Roosevelt explained: "The movement is one for efficiency and patriotism. It does not try to make soldiers of boy scouts, but to make boys who will turn out as men to be fine citizens, and who will, if their country needs them, make better soldiers for having been scouts."[731] Before the decade was out, Roosevelt's opinion of scouting changed and he publically criticized the organization for not taking a more active role in pushing those

[730] Theodore Roosevelt, *The Strenuous Life*. (New York: The Review of Reviews Company, 1904). Roosevelt's essay titled "The Strenuous Life" later formed the basis of a collection of essays where the President articulated his theories on the importance of a rugged outdoor lifestyle and a commitment to civic duty as the basis of an American education. The term itself became short hand for the values, methods, and goals of an outdoor education curriculum.
[731] *The Official Handbook for Boys*, 354.

young men into the service during the First World War. The Scouts, wanting to defend their ideal of the Peace Scout, chose to distance themselves from the former President.[732]

Although not training for war, young Boy Scouts spent their time training to "Be Prepared." As Scouting grew in popularity, more and more parents saw value in sending their children to camps, where they would stay in cabins, drill, play sports, and sing around campfires. On weekend excursions, boys would load their rations in packs or horseshoe blankets, and hike cross country, setting up their own bivouacs along the way, and experiencing at least a small part of their grandfather's stories. (Figures 7.19 and 7.20) *Boy's Life*, the magazine which served as the mouthpiece for the Boy Scouts of America, included many examples of troops engaging in experiences linking them to the Civil War.

Repeatedly, the intergenerational relationship between the Scouts and their grandfathers in the GAR appeared on the pages of *Boy's Life* and other publications of the BSA. In 1911, the Scout Troop in North Adams, Massachusetts hiked the 5.5 miles to the GAR Hall in the neighboring town of Adams so that they could see weapons and images from the war.[733] In the spring of 1912, the Scouts of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania planned a hike from Gettysburg to Philadelphia to the annual scout encampment, just as they had done the year before when they hiked to Washington, D.C.[734] Such long marches with their necessary bivouacs were a common challenge for these young troops, including a 200 mile hike made by a Springfield, Massachusetts troop to Saratoga, New

[732] Wills, 57.
[733] Joseph J. Lane, "The Boy Scouts: News and Notes," *Boy's Life*, June 1911, page 31.
[734] Joseph J. Lane, "Boy Scouts: News and Notes," *Boy's Life*, April 1912, page 25.

York. Across the country, Memorial Day was an opportunity for Scout troops to participate in the rituals of patriotism with the GAR. As one such report stated: "No doubt the public will be glad to see again this youthful escort for the grizzled veterans of the Civil War. It will be a solemn reminder that each generation is expected to make its sacrifice and perform its duty for humanity and country on this Memorial Day, when we honor our dead heroes."[735] The city of Poughkeepsie, New York honored its Boy Scouts in 1912 for their service to the GAR[736] and the February 1913 *Boy's Life* acknowledged the fifty member Troop 21 of Patterson, New Jersey as being the only American troop composed entirely of the grandsons of Civil War veterans.[737] Civil War themed short stories such as "Squaring Accounts" and "Peter and the Game of War" placed young boys in dangerous situations where their survival rested not on the force of arms, but their force of wit. For the May 1914 story "Peter in the Game of War", Norman Rockwell provided an illustration that wove together the barefoot boy image with the memory of the Civil War. (Figure 7.21) Books such as *The Scouts of Stonewall, The Sword of Antietam*, and *The Rock of Chickamauga* were promoted on the pages of Boys Life and an image of an old veteran, his GAR Badge clearly identifiable, was used to sell watches in the original Boy Scout Handbook. (Figure 7.22) The Scouts were on duty serving the GAR at their 1915 Encampment in Indianapolis, as well as their Encampment in Detroit the year before. Washington Gardner, the Commander-in-Chief of the GAR said of the Scouts that "With the unbounded willingness of youth they served the nation's heroes. I

[735] Joseph J. Lane, "Boy Scouts: News and Notes," *Boy's Life*, April 1912, page 25.
[736] Franklin D. Elmer, "The Poughkeepsie Civic Medal," *Boy's Life,* November, 1912, page 8.
[737] "News from Scout Scribes," *Boy's Life*, February 1913, page 28.

was almost moved to tears at the sight of the city's youths responding to the wants of the veterans. It was glorious, wonderful service and I am immensely pleased to say so."[738] The city of Detroit was so thankful for the service that the Boy Scouts had provided at the GAR Reunion that they gave a commemorative first aid kit to every troop in the city.[739] The close intergenerational bond of Scout and veteran found poignant illustration in a full page woodcut by Norman Rockwell in *The Boy Scout's Hike Book.* The image showed two uniformed scouts providing aid to a one-legged older man suffering from heat exhaustion is captioned by the line: "I'd give my other leg to belong to your Troop!" (Figure 7.23) This commitment to their elders, to community, to service and to a moral equivalent of war found its physical expression on the battlefield of Gettysburg, where once again grandfathers and grandsons camped together.

For the "Peace Jubilee", the 50th Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg on July 1-4, 1913, the War Department spent $450,000 to create a "Great Camp" that would house the 53,407 Union and Confederate veterans who attended. As David Blight described, "they were at once the embodiment of Civil War nostalgia, symbols of a lost age of heroism, and the fulfillment of that most human of needs – civic and spiritual reconciliation"[740] The event's program was reflective of the reconciliationist version of the Civil War in memory. Little was said of the events that led to the war or of the racial injustices that had occurred since. The driving concern was for peace and reconciliation. Considering the significance of the imagery of camp within the culture of the Civil War

[738] "Detroit Boy Scouts Win Praise at G.A.R. Encampment," *Boy's Life*, October 1914, page 18.
[739] "Detroit Scouts Receive First Aid Kits," *Boy's Life*, January 1915, page 18.
[740] Blight, 8.

generation, it was fitting that if the veterans of the Blue and Gray were to reunite on a battlefield that they would need to spend their time reenacting camp life. The difficult and uncomfortable politics of the war were ignored, but in the background were some of the first members of a new youth organization that was just learning how to navigate these politics on a national level. The guns fell silent, but the songs, stories, and the crackle of the campfire rekindled the positive and restorative peace created while tenting on the old camp ground.

The 50,000 Civil War veterans who returned to Pennsylvania in July of 1913 were joined by 500 Boy Scouts, including 60 Scouts from Washington, D.C. who took the train to Gettysburg on June 27 and 350 Scouts from Philadelphia who arrived on June 29 to set up the camp.[741] (Figure 7.24) Throughout the reunion, the Scouts engaged the veterans and shouldered the duties of camp life. They carried baggage from the train to camp, guided old men across the battlefield, and posed for pictures with old soldiers. (Figure 7.25) They set up tents, wrote letters home for the veterans, managed campfires, and posted guard duty around the clock. They aided the Red Cross by carrying water and messages across the battlefield, and sought out veterans exhausted by the heat in order to bring them safely back to camp. (Figure 7.26) The skills these boys learned and drilled at Scout meetings and weekend excursions, first aid, navigation, and communications, would now serve the needs of others in a camp setting. In doing so, they experienced the full range of positive military virtue, without suffering the devastating tragic elements.

[741] "Go to Gettysburg by Train," *The Washington Post,* June 27, 1913, page 3; "Blue and Gray Hosts Close on Gettysburg," *Boston Daily Globe*, June 29, 1913, page 1; "Big Camp Bars War Flags," *New York Times*, June 25, 1913, page 8.

Organized into patrols and confidently able to navigate the terrain of the battlefield, groups of scouts spent the evenings searching for veterans who had fallen or become confused and lost, bringing over 100 of them back to their tents.[742] The service of the young men was so appreciated that each participating Scout was awarded a medal similar to those given to the veterans at the event and photos of Scouts serving veterans were printed in newspapers around the country.[743] The Red Cross acknowledged the extraordinary service the Scouts delivered by granting them the right to wear the official Red Cross arm bands of the Hospital Corps at the conclusion of the reunion, crediting them with the remarkably low death rate at the encampment and the State of Pennsylvania awarded them each a bronze bar to thank them for their work.[744] As H. Howard Sutphen reported to *The Washington Post* regarding his observations of the Boy Scouts at Gettysburg: "Apparently they were imbued with the same sort of patriotism that made the battle of Gettysburg one of the greatest the world ever knew. The boys did not know how to get tired. Whenever they saw a veteran in distress they would tenderly assist him to his destination. . . . The reunion at Gettysburg demonstrated to me that American patriotism, courage, and manhood have not deteriorated in the 50 years that have gone since the great battle was fought."[745]

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[742] "Boy Scouts Prove Practical Value of their Cause," *New York Times*, August 31, 1913, page SM9.
[743] "Medals for Boy Scouts," *Boston Daily Globe*, July 2, 1913, page 9; "Veterans at Gettysburg Camp Suffer Day of Intense Heat," *Boston Daily Globe*, July 2, 1913, page 1; "Heat Prostrates Gettysburg Host," *New York Times*, June 30, 1913, page 1; "The Red Cross at Gettysburg," *New York Times*, July 20, 1913, page 10; "Await Veteran Hosts," *The Washington Post*, June 23, 1913, page 4; "Big Camp will be Open for Veterans Tonight," *The Washington Post*, June 29, 1913, page 1; "Vanguard in Camp," *The Washington Post*, June 30, 1913, page 1.
[744] "Veterans Rush Home," *The Washington Post*, July 6, 1913, page 2.
[745] "Chats of Visitors to the Capital," *The Washington Post*, July 3, 1913, page 6.

Narratives of the event traveled beyond the small Pennsylvania town on the pages of *Boy's Life*, demonstrating the link that bound the generations. (Figure 7.27)

> Long rows of tents, numbering thousands stretched away in the dark – across the field, over the road, down into the valley and up the slope of the distant hill, almost as far as the eye could see in daylight. . . . Over the broad field and valley and hillside old men were sleeping – men who, when boys like himself and his fellow Scouts, had slept there without shelter, or paced to and fro among the sleepers, doing "sentry duty," as he was doing now.[746]

The reminiscences shared by various Scouts capture scenes including numerous instances of "Reb" and "Yank" recognizing each other and swapping stories. Scout Russell A. Yarnell shared an incident where he and another Scout came upon a veteran with a broken leg. But discovering the limb was a wooden leg, they transported him to the blacksmith rather than the hospital.[747]

The *Boy's Life* articles noted repeatedly that the scouts were able to learn about the meaning of the war, although the authors never go so far as to actually define that meaning. What is clear, however, is that the meaning of the *encampment* was peace and forgiveness. In the anecdote written by Scout Aaron Strong, he and a few other scouts were assisting a Texas veteran past the site of an old barn where he had lost his arm during the battle. The Texan said to the boys, "I would like to meet that Yank (who wounded me). . . and shake his hand, for, while he did bodily harm, the spirit of this occasion is peace and forgiveness, and I am willing to forgive and forget." Then a Union veteran approached the aged Confederate and introduced himself as the man who had

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[746] "The Scouts at Gettysburg," *Boy's Life*, September 1913, page 16.
[747] Russell A. Yarnell, "The Scouts at Gettysburg," *Boy's Life,* September 1913, page 27.

wounded him at the battle and the two grasped hands.[748] This chance meeting could have been an incredible irony, or it could have been an example of the intense motivations for forgiveness and closure that the veterans gathered at Gettysburg in 1913 craved. What it does tell us is that the moral high ground of forgiveness was a more important lesson for young scouts than the historical strategic high ground of Little Round Top. The impression the experience left on young Aaron Strong and the selection of his letter by the editors of *Boy's Life* suggests the importance of reconciliation in the memory of the Civil War.

The lessons learned by the Scouts at Gettysburg extended beyond the warm reminiscences and tones of forgiveness. In one tragic case, "two scouts held a stricken veteran, who died in their arms."[749] These boys experienced death on the battlefield of Gettysburg, but it was the natural and peaceful process of death, free from the emotions of revenge or the guilt of having fired the shot that killed another. A surreal experience that transcended time and generations in the minds of the young Scouts, the encampment at Gettysburg embodied the Moral Equivalent of War, an ideal that was strengthened all the more by the Commander-in-Chief himself.

As President Wilson took the podium at the Gettysburg reunion, his call to arms was not for military service, but for a more peaceful and economic struggle: "Do not put uniforms by. Put the harness of the present on. Lift your eyes to the great tracts of life yet to be conquered in the interest of righteous peace, of that prosperity which lies in a

[748] Aaron Strong, "Gettysburg Stories by Boy Scouts," *Boy's Life,* September 1913, page 17.
[749] Aaron Strong, "Gettysburg Stories by Boy Scouts," *Boy's Life,* September 1913, page 17.

people's hearts and outlasts all wars and errors of men." At this moment of reconciliation and forgiveness, Wilson echoed the ideals of William James by looking ahead to the next generation and providing a moral equivalent to the Gettysburg of the past. "The orders of the day are the laws upon our statute books. What we strive for is their freedom. . . The recruits are the little children crowding in. The quartermaster's stores are in the mines and forests and fields, in the shops and factories. Every day something must be done to push the campaign forward; and it must be done by plan and with the eye of some great destiny." [750] For the Peace Scouts in the audience, the call to arms was clear.

For Julia Ward Howe, God's "righteous sentence" was written "in the watch fires of a hundred circling camps." These fires kept burning in the decades after the war. Although the necessity of camping and the centrality of a camp fire were not unique to soldiers of the Civil War, what was noteworthy was the way this imagery was transformed into an educational institution for their grandchildren. The nostalgic imagery of camp in the minds of the Civil War veterans became a part of the experience of the early Scout movement, and with it Outdoor Education as a whole. Girl Scouts, private summer camps, and settlement houses all incorporated this camp imagery into their programs, imagery which spoke to an intergenerational experience that survived even as the Civil War generation passed. In the twenty-first century, scouts still learn the skills of first aid, meet regularly in encampments, and sing *Tenting Tonight* around evening

[750] Woodrow Wilson, "Address at Gettysburg." John T. Wolley and Gerhard Peters, *The American Presidency Project* [online]. Santa Barbara, CA. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=65370. Accessed on 3/26/2010.

campfires. The Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War, who identify themselves as the heirs to the GAR continue their forefathers' relationship with Scouting. To quote their website, "It is our honor to maintain the many traditions of the GAR. These include the promotion of good citizenship by teaching patriotism, civic duties, and the love & honor of our flag – concepts that are 'near and dear' to the Boy Scouts of America."[751]

Winslow Homer's 1863 image of camp life *Home Sweet Home* (Figure 7.28) shows a Union soldier, standing in the foreground with a hand on his hip, a bent leg in front of him, dreamily staring into a campfire. Behind him stand pup tents and in the distance, a band is presumably playing the popular tune "Home Sweet Home" reminding him of his duty and responsibilities to those at far from the sounds of battle. Norman Rockwell's 1956 painting *The Scoutmaster* (Figure 7.29) mirrored that experience, even though it was painted almost a century later. The Scoutmaster stands in a similar position, gazing again at the food cooking on a fire, while pup tents and the reminders of his duty and responsibility peacefully sleep behind him. In the nearly one hundred years between these works of Homer and Rockwell, the extreme severity of war had been replaced with different adventures.

[751] Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War National Headquarters: Eagle Scout Program. http://www.suvcw.org/?page_id=822. (Accessed January 25, 2015).

Chapter 8: The Sargent Girls Go to Camp

On September 22, 1912, the *New York Times* ran a full page article, complete with photographs, under the title:"Dr. Sargent Starts a Camp to Make Girls Healthy. Strenuous Life is the Order of the Day at the New Summer School Near Peterboro, N. H., Which the Harvard Expert Has Organized." (Fig. 8.1). Although the country was experiencing a dramatic increase in various types of camp programs, the *Times* claimed that Sargent Camp set the new standard and that "to the girl who is at heart a little more of a tomboy this camp is nothing short of paradise."[752] The founding of Sargent Camp in 1912 was the result of the life's work of a pioneer in physical education whose career expanded the discourse of public health and stressed the importance of fitness in America. But in addition, Sargent Camp created a safe place to challenge and empower young women during a period when traditional gender roles were in flux. In this arena cut from the forests of New Hampshire, the ideas of an aging progressive educator and the energies of a youthful generation of women merged, competed, and found new ways to express femininity through athleticism. Their work and their adventures illustrated the possibilities of a "bloomered education" on the shores of Half Moon Pond. [753]

Sargent Camp serves as a fitting example of the cultural crossroads that gave birth to the outdoor education movement in the early twentieth century. It embodied the pedagogy of Romanticism that evolved throughout the nineteenth century, as well as the changing perceptions regarding youth and wilderness. Painters and tourists had

[752] "Dr. Sargent Starts a Camp to Make Girls Healthy," *New York Times*, September 22, 1912, page SM9.
[753] Ibid.

transformed the Monadnock region where Sargent Camp was located into a divine landscape, ideal for the restless urbanite to find sanctuary through hiking and paddling. Ralph Waldo Emerson himself had chosen Monadnock as the setting for two of his most famous poems, framing the tourist experience of the mountain in Transcendentalism. Dr. Dudley Sargent, driven by concerns that the trappings of modern life were unhealthy for women and children, created a system of physical education that promised to cure disease through activity and direct personal experience in the outdoors. Sargent Camp was not only a product of these Romantic ideals, but it also promoted them nationally. Sargent Camp trained the next generation of physical educators in outdoor methods and they would carry that pedagogy to schools, camps, and colleges across the United States. And as the founder was one of the most influential Progressive educators of the day, the activities at Sargent Camp drew national attention in the press and in educational journals.

Sargent's philosophies first took root at Bowdoin College where he had crossed sabers with the General Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain, then President of the college. His philosophy had been tempered and influenced by the social concerns of Victorian America, including the closing of the frontier, robber barons and unchecked capitalism, immigration, urbanization, the changing perceptions of leisure and recreation, and a rising concern for how the youth of the future would develop in an America that looked so different from the past.[754] Amidst this social whirlwind, Sargent emerged as the

[754] For more on contemporary concerns: Theodore Roosevelt, *American Ideals* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Suns, 1897). For more on the concept of wilderness vacations: David Strauss, "Toward a Consumer Culture: "Adirondack Murray" and the Wilderness Vacation," *American Quarterly* 39 (Summer 1987):

leading expert in what was termed physical culture. He served as the Director of Harvard's Hemenway Gymnasium, the President and founder of Sargent Normal School, and an internationally recognized researcher on human physiology and performance, but Sargent was never fully accepted by the academic establishment. His personal mission was to make the weak strong and the strong stronger and his focus on the physical rather than intellectual set him apart from the ivory tower inhabitants of his day. Throughout his career, he threw convention to the winds and charted his own course, whether regarding physical education, medical treatments, or concepts of gender. Dudley Sargent did not create outdoor education, but he was one of the many education professionals who drew from American cultural elements to craft the pedagogy of experiential education for the twentieth century. More importantly, Sargent created a space for early twentieth century American women to challenge traditional gender norms and establish a community of their own in the gym and in the mountains of New Hampshire.

Portrait of a Trapeze Artist as a Young Man

Dudley Sargent had been an energetic lad. Born in 1849 in Belfast, Maine, his father died in an accident when the boy was only 7, so much of his childhood was spent working odd jobs to help the family. He struggled at school complaining that there were not enough physical challenges or activities to keep him engaged, but discovered gymnastics as a cure for his restlessness. As a teen, he formed a performance troop

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270-286. For more on Chautauqua and camp meetings: Glen Uminowicz, "Recreation in a Christian America: Ocean Grove and Asbury Park, New Jersey, 1869-1914," in *Hard at Play: Leisure in America, 1840-1940* edited by Kathryn Grover (Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992), 8-38; and David A. Gerber, "The Germans Take Care of Our Celebrations: Middle Class Americans Appropriate German Ethnic Culture in Buffalo in the 1850's," in *Hard at Play: Leisure in America, 1840-1940* edited by Kathryn Grover (Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992), 39-60.

named "Sargent's Combination," weaving together gymnastics, singing, dancing, music, and drama. His most famous trick involved standing on a chair or a ladder, balanced on a swinging trapeze, with one hand and one leg extended.[755] After leading his group in performances around Maine, Sargent followed the dream of any hyper-energetic 18 year old – he ran away to join the circus as a trapeze artist.[756]

Working as an acrobat, Sargent travelled across the northeast United States and then booked an extended tour in South America. But when his travel plans were delayed, he missed the boat to South America, found himself unemployed, and returned to Maine. The end of his circus career was not devastating for the young man; Sargent had grown tired of the performer's life and when he went back home he applied for a position directing the gymnasium at Bowdoin College in Maine. As an employee of the college, Sargent would not only be able to influence the students, but also become one of them by taking classes free of charge as he worked toward his undergraduate degree. Over the next six years, Sargent revolutionized the role of physical education at Bowdoin. He transformed the school gymnasium from a poorly converted dining hall, cold, drafty, and full of antique equipment into an innovative and modern physical education classroom. Sargent retooled the physical training equipment, replacing the weights and Indian clubs with machines of his own design that used pulleys and weights to more exactly develop specific muscle groups. He pushed for mandatory physical conditioning and assessment

[755] "Would Name Bowdoin Gym for Dr. Sargent", *Boston Herald*, March 2,1913.
[756] Dudley Allen Sargent, *An Autobiography* (Philadelphia: Lea & Febiger, 1927), 17-88.

for all students, making Bowdoin the first American college to require student attendance at the gym five days a week.[757]

Through his experiences at Bowdoin, Sargent sowed the seeds that developed into his career. Not only had he developed a method of physical training for college students, but he had begun to differentiate that from the popular movement toward militarization in education.[758] He also developed a belief that physical training should be a process of whole body nourishment. He believed that in focusing too much on one area of the body, another would be neglected, resulting in disease if not corrected with intentional physical training. Physical training for the masses provided an opportunity for American citizens to develop and grow. Although spectator sports and college athletics were becoming more popular, Sargent saw limited value in them because they served only the gifted few, only those that made the team and were, most likely, already fit. From Sargent's perspective, "like poets, athletes are born, not made."[759] Spectatorship did not equate to fitness and athletics could not improve the physical or moral health of the American public in the way that physical training could. Sargent's senior oration at Bowdoin, titled "Does Civilization Endanger Character?," suggested that even as an undergraduate, he was concerned with the issues of modernity and moral development. In a rapidly changing America, what relationship existed between the physical body and moral

[757] Sargent, 89-111; Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain, *Bowdoin College Visiting Committee Report*, 1872; Dudley A. Sargent, *1872 Gymnasium Report*, July 2, 1872; G.L. Goodale, *Report to the Visiting Committee*, n.d.; Dudley A. Sargent, *1873 Gymnasium Report*, June 30, 1873; Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain, *1873 President's Report*, n.d.; Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain, *1874 President's Report to the Visiting Committee*, n.d. George J. Mitchell Department of Special Collections & Archives, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine.
[758] See Chapter 7: Tenting on the Old Camp Ground.
[759] Dudley Allen Sargent, *An Autobiography* (Philadelphia: Lea & Febiger, 1927), 116.

identity? And how could that physicality be promoted among the citizenry in order to maintain American character? Finding answers to these questions became a vocation for Dr. Sargent.[760]

Sargent left Bowdoin for Yale Medical School, again earning his tuition by directing the school's gymnasium. Not interested in becoming a practicing physician, Sargent studied medicine in order to fully explore the relationship between his theories of physical training and the emerging concepts of preventative medicine. In his Yale dissertation, "The Moral Significance of Food," Sargent argued that the true role of the physician did not involve prescribing "pills and powders" but rather good food and physical activity.[761] After graduating with an M.D. in January 1878, Sargent stayed on at the Yale Gym, primarily to maintain library access as he devised a method to incorporate physical education into the public school system. He was met with discouragement from all sides. He labeled his theories of physical education Applied Physiology and Hygiene, Applied Psychology, and Sociology and Ethics, but neither Yale nor any college in America seemed interested. When speaking with Yale's President Noah Porter, the administrator quickly stopped him short, telling Sargent that Physical Education was "unworthy of a college-bred man."[762]

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[760] Sargent, *An Autobiography*, 89-130; Dudley Allen Sargent, *Physical Education* (Boston: Ginn & Company, 1906), 97-125; Edward Marshall, "Athletic, Not Military Training; Dr. Dudley A. Sargent of Harvard, Noted Physical Culture Expert, Says That Would Give Us Best Army Ever Known." *New York Times*, 28 March 1915, page SM6; Dudley Allen Sargent, "For Health Be Gymnasts as Well as Athletes; It Is the Combination Which Gives to Systematic Exercise Its Full Value for Well-Developed Manhood." *New York Times* 22 November 1908, page SM11.
[761] Dudley Allen Sargent, "The Moral Significance of Food" (M.D. diss, Yale Medical School, 1878), 38.
[762] Sargent, *An Autobiography*, 143.

Finding no educational institution willing to support him, Dr. Sargent struck out on his own. In May, he moved to New York to study under medical experts on children's diseases, women's diseases, and nervous disorders, focusing on strengthening the health of women and children through physical activity. As Sargent remembered years later, "I felt that I had seen a gleam which I must follow, and that gleam was preventative medicine… I hurled myself at the goblin, disease, from an unconventional angle… I wished to fortify well people rather than minister to the wrecks of humanity."[763] Instead of opening a clinic or hospital, Dr. Sargent did what he knew best, he opened a gym, the Hygienic Institute and School of Physical Culture in New York City. The gym served as a means for urban youth to get physical activity in the absence of open country. Women and children suffering from medical conditions, especially nervous disorders, were invited to the Institute to address their illness through physical training. In ignoring the advice of his colleagues and by charting his own course away from the American educational system, Dr. Dudley Sargent invented the field of physical therapy.[764]

Although rejected by his academic colleagues, Sargent's focus on physical culture and public health built upon a growing middle class anxiety emerged with the market revolution of the 1830s. As middle class Americans began to differentiate themselves from manual laborers, they also developed a concern that their non-manual work and material non-productivity undercut the earlier ideas of yeomanry. Sylvester Graham's *The Science of Human Life* (1839) and his followers, the Grahamites, promoted a

[763] Sargent, *An Autobiography*., 149.
[764] Sargent, *An Autobiography*., 150-156; George K. Makechnie, *Optimal Health: The Quest: A History of Boston University's Sargent College of Allied Health Professions.* (Boston: Boston University, 1979).

vegetarian and healthier dietary and physical regime that was relatively wide spread and was highly influential on Bronson Alcott in his work at Fruitlands. Catharine Beecher's *Letters to the People on Health and Happiness* (1856) and *Physiology and Calisthenics for Schools and Families* (1856) continued this public discourse in favor of physical health as a means to restore the moral illnesses brought on by modern life. In his letters and in the introduction to *The Scarlet Letter* (1850), Nathaniel Hawthorne noted the lethargy of the mind and spirit that followed the extensive mental work of writing without the necessary balance of physical activity. Scholar Michael Newbury has argued that this concern for a balance of physical and mental work had also motivated Hawthorne to go to Brook Farm and served, too, as a significant motivation for Thoreau to go to Walden. Through the ideal of Muscular Christianity, second generation Transcendentalist Thomas Wentworth Higginson also promoted this need for physical activity as a means to counter the imbalance of mental versus physical work in the middle class life style.[765] What Sargent offered was a physical prescription, written by a medical doctor and backed by research that addressed these anxieties of American middle class men and women.

The role of physical training in women's education inspired controversy, but Sargent was not alone in seeing the importance of fitness in female development. The Boston Female Monitorial School for Girls included physical education as part of its curriculum when it was founded in 1825, including running, jumping and dancing, but the curriculum had to be toned down due to the concerns raised by parents. Catherine

[765] Michael Newbury, "Healthful Employment: Hawthorne, Thoreau, and Middle-Class Fitness," *American Quarterly* 47 (December 1995), pp 681-714.

Beecher developed calisthenics classes for the students of the Hartford Female Seminary in the 1820s and Mount Holyoke Female Seminary included daily walks and calisthenics by 1839.[766] The *Turners*, a social organization rooted in physical training and German culture, saw an increase in women taking classes throughout the 1860s and 1870s, but did not allow women to compete in athletic contests until 1921.[767]

Sargent's Hygienic Institute and School for Physical Culture met with great success in New York. Classes filled and the increasing health of the participants attracted the public's attention. The increased notoriety of his work led to an invitation to speak at the 1879 season of Chautauqua, which Dr. Sargent happily accepted. Chautauqua's organizing philosophy, which Sargent described as "change of occupation, not idleness, is true recreation" appealed to Sargent.[768] Chautauqua's pristine New York landscape, including the fresh air at 1300 feet surrounded by open fields and an accessible body of water, impressed him, suggesting the potential of a physical training programs in a verdant rather than urban environment. With this increased regional notoriety, he was offered the directorship of Harvard's new Hemenway Gymnasium, still under construction. Sargent accepted, closed shop in New York, and took the reigns of the most high profile gymnasium in the United States.[769]

From this new position, Sargent's influence spread nationwide, even though many among Harvard's faculty and administration considered physical training an unworthy

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[766] Annette R. Hofmann, "Lady Turners in the United States: German American Identity, Gender Concerns, and *Turnerism*," *Journal of Sport History* 27 (January 2000): 387.
[767] Hofmann, 383-404.
[768] Sargent, *An Autobiography*, 157.
[769] Sargent, *An Autobiography*, 157-164.

effort for educated men. He made improvements on his fitness equipment designs from his Bowdoin days and his inventions inspired visitors to Boston and Harvard who brought Sargent's ideas back to their own institutions. He continued his practice of measuring the physiques of his students, just as he had at Bowdoin and Yale, but expanded data collection to include various other men's and women's colleges across New England. His study of the proper physique even included measuring cultural superstars such as America's most famous athlete, pugilist John L. Sullivan.[770] Through his classes at Harvard and later the Harvard Summer School for Physical Education, Sargent offered training programs to thousands of Americans, Booker T. Washington and Theodore Roosevelt among them. But respect from the highest levels of academia was slow in coming. In 1884, when Harvard's President Charles Eliot recommended him to the appointment of full professor, the college Overseers felt his work was not academic enough and the appointment was denied.[771]

Sargent would again have to trust to his own initiative in order to realize his vision. By 1881, his success in raising the importance of physical training led to the expansion of gymnasiums across the country, many of which were now filled with equipment that he had either designed or inspired.[772] The next major obstacle was a human resource issue; he needed skilled educators who understood how to leverage those

[770] Sargent, *An Autobiography*, 204. Sargent's relationship with Sullivan included writing an extended report detailing the boxer's physique in John L. Sullivan's *Life and Reminiscences of a 19th Century Gladiator.* (Boston: Jas. A. Herne & Co, 1892).
[771] George K. Makechnie, *Optimal Health*, 21-24.
[772] Sargent's use of pulleys and counterweights in the development of fitness equipment has been influential well into the twenty-first century. Any fitness equipment that uses this system is rooted in the designs that Dudley Sargent created and promoted during this period.

tools to benefit of the health of the American public. His solution was the Sargent School for Physical Education, an innovative normal school specifically focused on training women to be physical educators. Sargent still maintained his position as Director of the Hemenway Gymnasium at Harvard, but after being passed over for professorship and having his ideas for a women's physical education program rejected by Radcliffe, he focused his teaching energies on his own school. Although there were periods when Sargent experimented with a co-ed format, the Sargent School stayed primarily a women's college until after the founder's death.

The Sargent System of physical education was controversial on a number of fronts. Academics at Harvard were as uncomfortable as those at Yale, viewing physical education as an inappropriate field of study in higher education. Conservative members of Boston society were very concerned with the loose fitting blouses and bloomers that Sargent required of his students, unwilling to accept his arguments on their impact on health, safety, and comfort. Mary Tileston Hemenway, the Beacon Hill philanthropist whose son had provided the funding for the Hemenway Gymnasium, opposed Sargent's methods on practical grounds. Active in the development of the Boston Public School system, Hemenway found Sargent's methods of individualized assessment requiring specially trained teachers and specific equipment impractical for widespread use in public school. Her public efforts led to the city's adoption of the Swedish or Ling system of

gymnastics as the dominant form of physical education in Boston's public schools, but that didn't restrict Sargent's influence beyond the shores of the Charles River.[773]

In 1887, Sargent started the Harvard Summer School of Physical Education, drawing school teachers, athletes, gymnasts, military officers, lawyers, physicians, college professors, school superintendents, and eventually the leading physical educators from across the United States.[774] Through the Sargent School for Physical Education, Dr. Sargent's pupils promoted his methods as they took positions directing gymnasiums in Rochester, Buffalo, and Providence as well as teaching at Bryn Mawr, Oberlin, Smith, Mount Holyoke, Vassar, and Stanford. Luther Gulick, one of Sargent School's few male alums, went on to play a major role in the work of the YMCA and its Training School (now known as Springfield College), but his greatest contribution to outdoor education came through the program he founded with his wife, the Campfire Girls.[775]

The Developmental Importance of Play

Luther Gulick's primary interest was in the concept of play, which he saw as an important cultural window because it was entered into voluntarily and occurred after the necessary work of life was done. Gulick was also influenced by the recapitulation theories of G. Stanley Hall's study *Adolescence*, which viewed the developmental stages of a child as parallel to the evolution of civilization.[776] For Hall and Gulick, playing

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[773] Betty Spears, "The Philanthropist and the Physical Educator," *The New England Quarterly* 27 (December, 1974): pp. 594-602.
[774] Spears, 596.
[775] Sargent, *An Autobiography*, 184-202; and George K. Makechnie, *Optimal Health*, 25-52.
[776] Hall's theories and role in early nineteenth century discourse are covered in greater depth in Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995) and Abigail Van Slyck *Manufactured Wilderness.*

"Indian" was akin to developing through the savage stages of humanity prior to "civilization." As the child aged, more structured and organized sports were introduced, mirroring a progression of civilization that assumed higher levels of organized society were signs of superior civilizations. The intentional use of active play served as a means to acculturate children to the systems of modern western adult society. For that acculturation to be successful, play should follow the stages of child development that Hall and others saw as represented in cultural hierarchies. If people were to reach the higher stages of development, they would need to experience each of these stages including opportunities for wild-ness in their youth. Camp and other outdoor education programs provided a chance for children to experience those early stages of development and were therefore assumed to be an essential part of youth development.[777]

When the first summer camps opened in the 1880's, some had an academic focus serving more or less as a summer session in the woods, while others, such as those organized by the YMCA fused the physical with the evangelical. Until 1900, summer camping was for boys only, but with the opening of Redcroft in Hebron, NH, girls had their own camps too.[778] Summer camps for boys were designed to improve their masculinity so they would be prepared for life. Early girls' camps were designed to increase femininity in order for girls to be successful in serving later as good wives and strong mothers to future generations of boys. The activities of early girls camps included

[777] Donald J. Mrozek, "The Natural Limits of Unstructured Play," in *Hard at Play: Leisure in America, 1840-1940* edited by Kathryn Grover (Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992), 210-226; and W. Barksdale Maynard, "An Ideal Life in the Woods for Boys: Architecture and Culture in the Earliest Summer Camps," *Winterthur Portfolio* 34 (Spring 1999): 16.
[778] Maynard, 11.

arts and crafts focused on improving the quality of home life, plays, pageants, as well as dance and other physical activities that were intended to help women strengthen the feminine physical characteristics of grace and balance. Programs like Gulick's Camp Fire Girls worked to reinforce traditional women's roles, but some organizations challenged the prevailing structure. The concepts of masculinity and femininity are culturally and historically based, not universal or absolute. In times of cultural change, perspectives and values regarding gender also change and because education is a process of values transmission, it can quickly become a battleground in this redefinition of gender. Outdoor education, a pedagogy rich with concepts of American-ness and a connection to nature, found itself on the front lines of this debate.

Girls' camps may have projected an outward appearance of grace and charm in a rural Eden, but for many of the girls who attended camp, they were also outposts removed from traditional responsibilities and expectations. As historian Leslie Paris put it, "Girls at camp had unparalleled opportunities to become skilled athletes, learn leadership skills, and be at the center of attention; meanwhile, camps' capacity for allowing girls to reinvent themselves was an important part of their power and appeal."[779] Historian Kathy Peiss has observed that recreation provided women with the means and the opportunity to challenge the cultural restrictions on women in New York City and outdoor recreation provided that same opportunity in the mountains.[780] That women found a space for free expression in the more rustic areas of the American landscape

[779] Leslie M. Paris, "The Adventures of Peanut and Bo: Summer Camps and Early-Twentieth-Century American Girlhood," *Journal of Women's History* 12 (Winter 2001): 49.
[780] Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York.* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986).

should be no surprise: artists like Winslow Homer had been illustrating strong, confident women in the mountains of New Hampshire for decades.[781]

Juliette Low's Girl Scout organization actively challenged social conceptions of women's roles by adopting military uniforms and even the term "scout," much to the displeasure of those in the Boy Scout movement. Her organizational approach adopted the militaristic titles of Captains for girls over the age of 21 and Lieutenants for those over 18.[782] Central to Low's ideology was the importance of physical fitness. As she put it: "A girl with weak, flabby muscles cannot have the strength of character that goes with normal physical power."[783] A woman's physical conditioning had larger social importance as well because Low felt a "fundamental law of life" was that women were able to exert more influence on men than men were able to exert on each other. For that reason, women held the power and responsibility to strengthen the character of all of the men and boys with whom they interacted.[784] Early twentieth-century Americans feared modern girlhood was in crisis and the Girls Scouts took a progressive role in addressing it. Believing that the self-aware girl would not be willing to subjugate herself to adult demands, the Girl Scouts sought to empower young women.[785] The wilderness environment provided a sense of freedom and responsibility that was not available in co-educational or more public environments. At camp, girls would learn what society was no

[781] See Chapter 3: From Canvas to Campfire.
[782] Juliette Low, *How Girls Can Help Their Country*. (New York: Girl Scout National Headquarters, 1916), 4.
[783] Low, 11.
[784] Low, 9.
[785] Susan A. Miller, *Growing Girls: The Natural Origins of Girls' Organizations in America*. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2007), 2.

longer teaching them, developing self-reliance meant reflecting the image of early pioneering women.[786] When Low took her troop on their first camping trip, the girls wore long skirts over their bloomers until they reached the edge of town. Only in the outskirts could they lose their socially appropriate attire and enjoy swimming, hiking, and outdoor living. The Girl Scouts also challenged convention with their approach to women's health. Victorian society kept menstruation a secret from girls until it happened, hoping that not knowing would postpone its onset. The Girl Scouts challenged this by incorporating educational discussions between the girls and their leaders about their approaching womanhood.

Luther Gulick's Campfire Girls program also responded to the crisis in girlhood, but worked to reinforce more traditional values. Gulick embraced the ideals of G. Stanley Hall and saw the outdoor life as a means for girls to reclaim their primitive domesticity.[787] Proponents of the Campfire Girls saw the Girl Scouts as being too militaristic, while the Girl Scouts saw their Campfire peers as being sentimental, impractical, and irrelevant.[788] But regardless of the rivalry, both organizations joined a larger chorus which saw the wilderness as an answer for the issues of modern girlhood. As Luther Gulick argued, "The democracy of the wilderness is the greatest democracy the world knows"[789] and so whether finding a primitive femininity or a pioneering self-reliance, girls would be able to build a community that they could not find in urban

[786] Miller, 6.
[787] Miller, 3-5.
[788] Tammy M. Proctor, *Scouting for Girls: A Century of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts*. (Denver: Praeger, 2009), 42.
[789] Miller, 73.

America. Adult women also found opportunities for leadership in the outdoors. Many women found the National Parks and wilderness areas to be places where they could find equality with to men. In the Appalachian Mountain Club (AMC), founded in 1876, women held numerous leadership roles, challenging the idea of the wild as a space for masculinity.[790] Professional leadership roles within Scouting also provided creative outlets and a safe refuge for lesbians and women who opted not to craft a traditional life.[791] Whether intent on reinforcing social norms or undermining them, parents sent their girls to camp in droves after the turn of the century, assuming that a life connected to the wilderness setting would make their daughters healthy, confident, and "womanly."[792]

<u>To make the weak strong, and the strong stronger.</u>

The wilderness camp idea did not initially start with Dudley Sargent, but his concerns about the direction of American civilization blended smoothly into the ideology of camp and outdoor education. Sargent traced the physiological development of the human body to interactions with the environment. Based on his understanding of evolution, which was more Lamarckian than Darwinian, Sargent saw the human body's characteristics as selected through engaging a harsh environment in the struggle for existence. Thousands of years of evolution resulted in human beings who could run and toil, but more importantly ones who controlled the fine movements of hands and fingers with the sharpest and most intelligent minds in the animal kingdom. Humanity was in

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[790] Miller, 86.
[791] Proctor, 57.
[792] Leslie M. Paris, "The Adventures of Peanut and Bo: Summer Camps and Early-Twentieth-Century American Girlhood," 47-76; and Abigail Van Slyck, *A Manufactured Wilderness: Summer Camps and the Shaping of American Youth, 1890-1960*, 89-91.

grave danger, however, because with the onset of industrial civilization came a lifestyle no longer based on that relationship with the land. For Sargent, the division of labor and the introduction of machinery removed the physical element of life that kept the human body at a healthy level. Sargent returned to this theme repeatedly in his writings and public addresses stressing how a modern industrial economy was unnatural and destructive to the human body.

> Think of the simplicity of service now expected of many of the employees in our great railroad systems. One man sells a ticket, another watches it drop in a box, another rings a bell or blows a whistle, another presses a button, another opens or closes a gate, and so on. This is fairly typical of the little physical and mental effort now required to earn a livelihood in many of our great industries. It is hardly necessary to add that such a pursuit carried on persistently through a long term of years without any other life interest to supplement it would lead to general atrophy of the muscular and nervous systems.[793]

Early 20th century Americans believed that physical training had not been needed in previous generations because the lifestyle of the American people involved a more physical interaction with the land. As Sargent explained, "In the early history of America's settlement we find no necessity for physical training. Breaking up ground, clearing forests, and hunting Indians gave our forefathers all the exercise they needed, and the domestic duties of a frontier life kept our maternal ancestors free from nervous debility and muscular feebleness. With increased wealth, division of labor, and intensified mental life came the necessity for more physical exercise."[794] Urban

[793] Dudley Allen Sargent, "Significance of a Sound Physique," *Annals of the American Academy* 34 (July 1909): 12.
[794] Dudley Allen Sargent, *Physical Education*, 10. Sargent's highly questionable use of the idea of "hunting Indians" as a type of exercise illustrates either an extreme racism or a complete insensitivity to the plight of

environments were the worst locations within this dangerous new world, with dense over-crowding, highly specific industrial jobs, and little opportunity for physical activity. Sargent believed the noise of cities wore down the brain and the rough pavement and rapid stopping of elevators irritated the nerves. The lack of proper nutrition and physical activity sapped the body and the soul that, when combined with insufficient sleep, poor air quality, and limited sunshine, led not only to weakness and disease, but also to the deterioration and decay of the human race. Only through gymnastics, sports, games, and physical training could the body have any chance of restoration. Dr. Sargent's ideas on the relationship to the modern environment and physical degradation were relatively wide spread. A number of national leaders, including Sargent's former student Theodore Roosevelt, were active in the promotion of sport to maintain the strength of the nation.[795] What was unique to Sargent was a more scientific than nationalistic approach. The Sargent System, which recorded bodily measurements and prescribed physical exercises, gave Dr. Sargent tangible, quantitative data to back up his assertions.[796]

The concerns over the deleterious effect of modern life drove much of Sargent's physical education work in the gymnasium throughout the 1880s and 1890s. By 1904, Sargent had expanded his classroom outdoors to include field sports in the curriculum of the Sargent School, using Norton's Field in Cambridge for the programs. This shift of

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the Native Americans. Regardless of how that portion is read, I think it is important to stress that Sargent was making a point about the decreasing role of physical activity within a modern American lifestyle, not an argument on cultural hierarchy or racial oppression.

[795] Theodore Roosevelt, *American Ideals* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1897) ; Donald J. Mrozek, *Sport and American Mentality: 1889-1910.* (Knoxville, Tennessee: University of Tennessee Press, 1983).

[796] "Harvard's New Departure: A Course in Physical Training For Teachers to be Given," *New York Times,* March 20 1887, page 4.

focus beyond and outside of the gymnasium continued with his first book *Physical Education*, where Sargent outlined the necessary elements in a comprehensive American physical education curriculum including the value of summer camp programs in countering the idleness brought on by summer vacations. Summer programs where children participated in hunting, canoeing, mountain climbing and other sports while being mentored by moral, well-mannered college athletes provided the "opportunity for city-bred boys to leave the dust and the dirt, the noise and the smoke, and the darkness of the city streets, and get back to nature."[797] Sargent's ideas of camp echoed his observations from his experience with the clean air, open water, and opportunities for outdoor sports at Chautauqua, as well as the influence of his relationships with former students such as Luther Gulick and Theodore Roosevelt. When Norton's Field was destroyed for the construction of the Andover School for Theology (later the Harvard School of Divinity) in 1910, the Sargent School needed to find a replacement for their outdoor sports activities. They found a 250-acre tract of land in the south west corner of New Hampshire, a landscape that had been at the heart of the Romantic Revolution in wilderness. The Monadnock region had been popular with poets, artists, and tourists including Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, Mark Twain, Edward MacDowell, Abbott Thayer, and Willa Cather starting in the 1840s. Situating the camp on the shores of Half Moon Pond meant that the Sargent Girls would discover the Transcendental lessons of "The Mountain that Stands Alone."[798]

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[797] Dudley Allen Sargent, *Physical Education* (Boston: Ginn & Company, 1906), 48.
[798] Howard Mansfield, "Introduction: The American Quest for Placelessness," in Howard Mansfield, ed. *Where the Mountain Stands Alone: Stories of Place in the Monadnock Region*. (Hanover, New Hampshire:

In the Shadow of Grand Monadnock

John Greenleaf Whittier's 1862 poem "Monadnock from Wachuset" cast the southern New Hampshire mountain in a light that blended art with outdoor recreation and wilderness with the pastoral, finding essential life lessons in an actual physical place sixty-three miles from Beacon Hill.

> I would I were a painter, for the sake
>
> Of a sweet picture, and of her who led,
>
> A fitting guide, with reverential tread,
>
> Into that mountain mystery.[799]

Whittier's poetic narrator was a hiker immersed in the forest and twilight of the natural world, until his eyes found "The brown old farm-house like a bird's-nest hung" where "sun-brown children" play among the paths and cattle.[800] The hiker continued along the forest road, reflecting on the wisdom of the farmer's family and observing that the "saintly soul" that toiled in the simplicity, close to nature, was in fact a "song of praise."[801] Whittier's ode to a life close to nature as spiritual development was not unique by the second half of the nineteenth century and neither was the choice of Mount Monadnock as the physical representation of that relationship. Monadnock had come to represent a Transcendental ideal that offered spiritual truth through art, poetry, and the

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University Press of New England, 2006), 5. The name of Mount Monadnock comes from a loosely translated Abenaki word meaning "where the mountain stands alone" or "mountain island." The term has also adopted a geological meaning, referring to a mountain that is separate from a larger chain, literally the mountain that stands alone.

[799] John Greenleaf Whittier, *The Complete Poetical Works of John Greenleaf Whittier* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Company, 1894), 194.

[800] Whittier, 194.

[801] Whittier, 195.

physical experience. Southwest New Hampshire had suffered greatly from the market forces of the mid-nineteenth century and when the economy failed and the forest reclaimed the land, Mount Monadnock assumed a mantle of teacher and muse to generations of artists and poets. The region was not pristine wilderness, but rather a pastoral middle ground that suited the needs of Sargent and other outdoor education leaders as they searched for the ideal location to teach and transform American youth.[802]

The first half of the nineteenth century brought great transformations to the landscape of Mount Monadnock and its surrounding wilderness. The Great September Gale of 1815, one of the most devastating hurricanes to strike New England in the nineteenth century, toppled stands of red spruce trees around the forested summit of Monadnock. By the 1820s, the deadfall had dried into a tinderbox and massive forest fires cleared the summit of vegetation, leaving the thin topsoil exposed to erosion.[803] By the 1830s, this modest summit of 3,165 feet was left as a bald rocky peak even with an elevation well below the tree line zone for its latitude.

While wind and fire changed the landscape of the summit, the lands surrounding the mountain were transformed by an equally dangerous combination, greed and sheep. The market revolution of the early nineteenth century that redefined the American workplace found expression in central New England through an epidemic of "Sheep

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[802] Leo Marx, *Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964); Albert Carlson, "Recreation Industry in New Hampshire," in *Economic Geography*. 14 (July 1938), 255-270.

[803] Tom Wessles, "The Parables of Place," in Howard Mansfield, ed. *Where the Mountain Stands Alone: Stories of Place in the Monadnock Region*. (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 2006), 66.

Fever," an economic madness that drove farmers to clear cut their land to graze the highly prized Merino sheep. Between 1810 and 1840, the area around Mount Monadnock went from 30% agricultural land to 80%. Farmers refocused their production from self-reliant and community oriented to market based, focusing almost exclusively on producing wool for the booming textile industry. By 1840, virtually all of the forests south of the White Mountains had been cleared and put into sheep pasture. Without enough wood left for construction, farmers turned to the construction of stone walls to impose order on the landscape that had until recently been old growth forest. Even mountain summits, whose exposure limited their productive capacity, were cleared for the grazing of sheep.[804] The result was environmental degradation and devastation. The thin soil of New Hampshire was quickly eroded, making the land significantly less productive. With the opening of the west through the Erie Canal and later the railroads, a period known as the Great Emptying Out began, and the populations of rural New England collapsed.[805] By the end of the nineteenth century, most of the hill towns around Monadnock had been depleted to near extinction.[806] Stoddard, New Hampshire, which had been a bustling town of 1,200 in 1820 dwindled to 113 people by 1930, and it was one of the larger towns in the area.[807] With the Great Emptying Out, the forests reclaimed what had been farmland. Houses and barns collapsed and trees took root in their abandoned foundations, while the stone walls left ghostly markers of a booming economy

[804] Wessles, 67.
[805] Wessles, 67.
[806] Alan Rumrill, "The Last 113 People," in Howard Mansfield, ed. *Where the Mountain Stands Alone: Stories of Place in the Monadnock Region.* (Hanover, New Hampshire: University of Press of New England, 2006), 128.
[807] Rumrill, 134.

that failed by ignoring the stark lessons of the natural world. The Romantic criticisms of modernity had literally written themselves into the landscape around Mount Monadnock.

On May 3, 1845, in the twilight of the sheep boom, Ralph Waldo Emerson climbed Mount Monadnock, sat on its summit and began the first draft of one of his most famous poems, "Monadnoc." Emerson had referenced Monadnock in his earlier poems, specifically in "The Sphinx" published in *The Dial* in 1841. There, the mythical creature is reborn into the mountain as an expression of the Over-Soul. Central to Emerson's concept of the Over-Soul was metempsychosis, the idea that that the soul was reborn through a series of successive bodies. Because of this rebirth, Emerson felt there was a deeper consciousness that transcended time and that each person had a historical memory that reached beyond the self. Through reflection an individual could explore that deeper consciousness. "The Sphinx" articulated that ideal in poetry while his essay *History* did so in prose.[808] By anchoring "The Sphinx" in the physical space of Mount Monadnock, Emerson provided a geographic link for his fellow Bostonians to approach enlightenment by coach or train.

Most of Emerson's poetry suggests a relationship with nature that unites people with the Over-Soul if they listen closely enough, reinforcing Emerson's larger belief that poets must draw their knowledge from the natural world in order for them to capture the highest levels of truth.[809] In "Monadnoc," Emerson provided an experiential link between

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[808] John Michael Corrigan, "The Metempsychotic Mind: Emerson and Consciousness" *Journal of the History of Ideas* 71 (July 2010): pp. 433-455.
[809] Cynthia Cavanaugh, "The Aeolian Harp: Beauty and Unity in the Poetry of Ralph Waldo Emerson," *Rocky Mountain Review of Language and Literature* 56 (2002): pp. 25-35.

man and nature; a specific physical place where people could retreat, reflect, and reconnect to the Over-Soul. In his opening description, Emerson anchored the mountain in a nineteenth-century agrarian New Hampshire landscape, pointing to the "celestial sign" that exists "Above the ploughman's highest line, / Over the owner's farthest walls!"[810] As he sought to discover the message of the mountain, Emerson was quick to reject traditional academic routes to knowledge. "Bookworm, break this sloth urbane; / A greater spirit bids thee forth / Than the gray dreams which thee detain."[811] Instead, the poet challenges the learner to go into the mountains and find the people who live close to the land in order to learn the lessons such a life could provide.

> I can spare the college bell,
> And the learned lecture, well;
> Spare the clergy and libraries,
> Institutes and dictionaries,
> For thy hardy English root
> Thrives here, unvalued, underfoot.[812]

Emerson's suggestion that the lessons of the mountains might be unvalued spoke to his concern for a narrowed perspective of those in the city who lacked a personal connection to the landscape. When the mountain called out a challenge to the "clerk from South Cove and City Wharf" it warned him that a climb would not only leave him "scant of

[810] Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Monadnoc," in *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Volume IX: Poems*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1904), 60.
[811] Emerson, "Monadnoc," 60.
[812] Emerson, "Monadnoc," 66.

breath" but also that the view from the summit would expand a clerk's perspective so much that he would be humbled by the vastness of the earth and how little control he had in the world.[813] The humility brought on by this climb and the challenges faced by the mountain, would terrify the climber, but bring him closer to the sublime powers of the Over-Soul.

> I scowl on him with my cloud,
> With my north wind chill his blood;
> I lame him, clattering down the rocks;
> And to live he is in fear.
> Then, at last, I let him down
> Once more into his dapper town,
> To chatter, frightened, to his clan
> And forget me if he can.'[814]

Emerson's Monadnock was critical of those who didn't heed the lessons of nature, but it was also fond of those who knew how to listen. At first the poet assumed that anyone living near the mountain must be morally and physically superior to the urban population, saying: "Happy,' I said, 'whose home is here! / Fair fortunes to the mountaineer!" but then he is shocked at the "squalid peasants" who occupy "low huts" and spend their days in the local taverns.[815] As he searched the mountains more, he discovered those people who studied the flora and fauna of the region closely and who were able to build a community and find success in this harsh landscape.

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[813] Emerson, "Monadnoc," 71-72.
[814] Emerson, "Monadnoc," 72.
[815] Emerson, "Monadnoc," 62.

Man in these crags a fastness find
To fight pollution of the mind;
In the wide thaw and ooze of wrong,
Adhere like this foundation strong,
The insanity of towns to stem
With simpleness for stratagem.[816]

Through close observation and reflection on the landscape, they found wisdom, transforming mountain crags in to rosary beads and summit hikes into prayers. The mountain held the wisdom of life eternal, of the deeper consciousness of the Over-Soul just waiting for the "cheerful troubadour" to come and spread the wisdom "from this wellspring in my head."[817]

Emerson believed this deep perspective provided by the mountain's long view, both of time and of landscape, was sorely lacking in the America of the 1840s. "Monadnoc" observed that people were frantic and short sighted especially when compared to the natural world, "We fool and prate; Thou art silent and sedate."[818] Towns rose and fell and people continually tried to grasp at substance, only finding shadows, unless they went to the mountain.

Above the horizon's hoop,
A moment, by the railway troop,
As o'er some bolder height they speed, --

[816] Emerson, "Monadnoc," 64.
[817] Emerson, "Monadnoc," 70.
[818] Emerson, "Monadnoc," 74.

> By circumspect ambition,
>
> By errant gain,
>
> By feasters and the frivolous, --
>
> Recallest us,
>
> And makest sane.[819]

What Mount Monadnock offered was an antidote to these illnesses of modern life by providing historical and spiritual truths, truths discoverable by hiking the mountain's trails and listening for its whispered messages.

Emerson's call to climb Mount Monadnock was heard by many in the cities of the northeast and the Monadnock region quickly became a tourist destination with thousands flocking to the summit each year. When Henry David Thoreau made his forth visit to the summit, he discovered a scene that was a far cry from a pristine wilderness area.

> There were a great many visitors to the summit, both by the south and north, *i.e.*, the Jaffrey and Dublin paths, but they did not turn off from the beaten track. On noon, when I was on the top, I counted forty men, women, and children around me, and more were constantly arriving while others were going. Certainly more than one hundred ascended in a day. When you got within thirty rods you saw them seated in a row along the gray parapets, like the inhabitants of a castle on a gala-day; and when you behold Monadnock's blue summit fifty miles off in the horizon, you may imagine it covered with men, women, and children in dresses of all colors, like an observatory on a musterfield. They appeared to be chiefly mechanics and farmers' boys and girls from the neighboring towns. The young men sat in rows with their legs dangling over the precipice, squinting through spy-glasses and shouting and hallooing to each new party that issued from the woods below. Some were playing cards; others were trying to see their houses or their neighbor's. Children were running

[819] Emerson, "Monadnoc," 74.

> about and playing as usual. Indeed, this peak in pleasant weather is the most trivial place in New England. There are probably more arrivals daily than at any of the White Mountain houses. Several were busily engraving their names on the rocks with cold-chisels, whose incessant clink you heard, and they had but little leisure to look off. The mountain was not free of them from sunrise to sunset, though most of them left by about 5 P.M.[820]

Although Thoreau may not have been impressed by the mountain's visitors, later tourists honored the author by naming a popular overlook "Thoreau's Seat." Leon Hausman of the Thoreau Society later compared Thoreau to Monadnock, saying "Both stand alone, solitary, elevated above the lesser hills, gray, grim, wistful – yet also homey, intimate, drawing one nearer, their spiritual allurement deepening with the years."[821]

As crowded with tourists as the summit may have been, the Monadnock region itself continued to draw a steady crowd of artists and intellectuals well into the twentieth century. William Preston Phelps was born in Dublin, New Hampshire on the northern flank of Mount Monadnock in 1848. He grew up working on his father's farm before starting to work as a sign painter, but when his customers started asking him to paint scenes on canvas for their parlors, he embraced an artistic career. Phelps studied in Munich before returning to Lowell where he developed a long relationship with William Merritt Chase. In 1890, after his father's death, Phelps returned to the family farm and began painting the mountain that towered over his home. His paintings sold so well and he painted so many, that he was soon known as "The Painter of Monadnock," often capturing the mountain in winter and with a realism so precise that his work has been

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[820] Henry David Thoreau, "Journal: Thoreau on Monadnock, 1860," in Howard Mansfield, *Where the Mountain Stands Alone*, 84-85.
[821] Lean A. Hausman, "Thoreau on Monadnock," *The Thoreau Society Bulletin* 25 (October, 1948), 3.

used to gauge the forest succession as the landscape recovered from the fires and clearing caused before the Great Emptying Out.[822] (Figure 8.2)

The painter Abbott H. Thayer most directly linked Emerson's ideal of art and nature to Dudley Sargent's focus on physical culture and health. Thayer was raised in Keene, New Hampshire, where he roamed the forests and rivers on the western side of Monadnock. He went first to Boston and then New York, before studying at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris, then returned and started summering in the Monadnock region in the late 1880's, eventually moving to Dublin in 1901 to live year round. Once there, he attracted numerous students, including the children of philosopher William James, and formed a small art colony at the base of Monadnock. Thayer was an Emersonian Transcendentalist who saw art as the vehicle through which nature revealed the work of the Creator. As such, he also believed in the importance of living close to the land in order to clarify the artistic vision. Thayer, his family and his students, all lived in cabins with few amenities, often sleeping outdoors throughout the harsh New Hampshire winter in three sided shelters. Ice skating and snowshoeing were regular parts of an artistic life for those under Thayer's tutelage.[823] Thayer's close connection with the physical experience of the landscape emerged throughout his work. His representations of Monadnock are often from a hiker's perspective, immersed in the forest, with glimpses of the summit appearing rather than a grand sweeping panorama of the landscape. (Figure 8.3)

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[822] Edie Clark, "The Tragic Life of William Preston Phelps," in Howard Mansfield, *Where the Mountain Stands Alone,* 161-170.
[823] Richard Meryman, "Abbott Thayer in the Spell of Monadnock," in Howard Mansfield, *Where the Mountain Stands Alone,* 194-198.

A driving motivation behind Thayer's work was an obsession for health and a deep anxiety concerning disease, both physical and moral. Thayer's letters are riddled with concerns about disease, prostitution, garbage, and germs, culturally associated with urban life, but also personally linked to the loss of his first wife to tuberculosis in 1891.[824] His retreat to the mountains of New Hampshire followed a common medical practice known as "climate therapy" that posited the best treatment for medical conditions like tuberculosis was to retreat to rural sanatoriums.[825] Living an active outdoor lifestyle, tutoring his children at home rather than in schools, and focused on capturing natural beauty in his art, Thayer was able to follow the commands of Emerson's "Monadnoc" while avoiding the disease of modern urban life.

Thayer's quest for natural expressions of health also drew him to classical Greek imagery, particularly in his representation of women. Thayer, like many medical professionals, women's rights activists, and educators including Dudley Sargent, argued that the tight fitting women's clothing of the period was too restricting and thus unhealthy. Corsets in particular crushed the ribs and damaged the internal organs, but they also promoted an artificial sense of feminine beauty. Thayer saw the Greek ideal as more natural and flowing Greek garments as much healthier.[826] Physical health and lack of disease spoke to a sense of purity that Thayer wove into both his landscapes and his paintings of idealized women as angels. These two themes in his work converged in one

[824] Elizabeth Lee, "Therapeutic Beauty: Abbott Thayer, Antimodernism, and the Fear of Disease," *American Art* 18 (Fall 2004): 33-34.
[825] Lee, 40.
[826] Lee, 45.

of his final pieces, the *Monadnock Angel* of 1919.[827] (Figure 8.4) On this canvas, Thayer wove together ideals of physical health with a connection to the natural world, moral purity with mountain landscape, and the Over-Soul as a response to the modernity of the twentieth century, all centered on the Mountain that Stands Alone. It was a union that he would solidify even more in death, when his ashes were scattered from the Pompelly Trail on the northern side of Mount Monadnock.[828]

In the first decades of the twentieth century, the Monadnock region became a hot bed for American artists and intellectuals. Mark Twain visited Dublin and Thomas Wentworth Higginson purchased a summer home there. Composer Edward MacDowell lived in Peterborough. Willa Cather not only wrote *My Antonia* from a small room in Jaffrey's Shattuck Inn, but she also chose Jaffrey as her final resting place.[829] And in 1907, Ledyard Sargent wrote his father from the Maple Lawn Farm resort in Jaffrey.[830]

In the summer of 1911, Dr. Louis Burnett, a faculty member at Sargent School, visited the Hayward Farm in Peterboro, N.H. The old chicken farm included a 25-acre parcel of flat land, with a pond, woods, and nearby mountains. The previous owner, John Walter Hayward, had promoted the spot as a summer resort at the turn of the century, although little more than a farm house stood on the site when Burnett arrived.[831] He rushed back and urged Sargent to see the land for himself, so after the Harvard Summer

[827] Lee, 48.
[828] Meryman, 205.
[829] Linda Dyer, "Far from Nebraska's Prairies," in Howard Mansfield, ed. *Where the Mountain Stands Alone*, 211-215.
[830] Letters and promotional materials for Maple Lawn Farm are in the Correspondence File – HUG 1768.2. Pusey Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
[831] State of New Hampshire Agricultural records listing Summer Resorts and 1914 property tax records in the collection of Peterborough Historical Society.

School session ended Sargent made the journey. Sargent inspected the farm, approved the purchase, and organized a corporation to purchase the land upon his return to Boston. Sargent owned 51% of the corporation's stock with the rest spread around a number of the Sargent School's instructors and administrators, including Bertel Willard, Carl Schrader, Jennie Wilson, and Dr. Louis Burnett. Schrader, the Director of Athletic Programs at Sargent School, assumed the role of administrator for the camp. Later that fall, the corporation put out contracts for the construction of an artesian well, a few cabins, and the camp's main building, later known as the Main Bungalow or Northern Lodge.[832]

As the winter of 1911 set in, local contractors and workers began the preparations for Sargent Camp. Ice was cut from Half Moon Pond and stored in sawdust for the camp's refrigeration. When spring came, workers prepared the beach and fields for the campers and erected the buildings. [833] Among the first "campers" were the families of the workers building the camp. Charles A. Fitts of Antrim, NH, took his whole family of five and literally set up camp while working as a camp carpenter. His children were among the first of thousands who would play in these woods and learn to paddle on Half Moon Pond.[834] By the end of the summer, the camp was ready for operation, with the Senior

[832] Makechnie, *Optimal Health*, 70-72; and Lois Burstein, "The History of Sargent Camp, 1911-1962." (Paper prepared for Seminar in Educational Problems, Boston University, 1962), 1-2.
[833] Makechnie, *Optimal Health*, 72.
[834] Esther Fitts, "Peterborough – A Good Town to Live In." A recorded history and reminiscence of life in Peterborough. In the collection of the Peterborough Historical Society. Approximate date, 1981.

Bungalow, the Boat House, Lodges A and B, and Dr. Sargent's Cottage completed so that in September of 1912 the first Sargent Girls could arrive at Sargent Camp.[835]

The first session at Sargent Camp was an optional program in the Sargent School curriculum and of the 247 students at the school, 60 made the trek to camp.[836] Although some of these Sargent Girls came via chauffeured drivers, the majority arrived via special train from North Station in Boston to East View Station, in present day Harrisville, NH.[837] From Harrisville, the women began their first camp activity, a three mile hike to the shore of Half Moon Pond fully dressed in long skirts, coats and fashionable hats. (Figure 8.5) Like many camp programs of the period, a truck moved luggage and equipment while the campers traveled the roads on foot. Three miles later, the Sargent Girls arrived at camp having shed a layer of clothing along the way, sauntering past the newly constructed cabins and tent platforms. (Fig. 8.6) The tent platform suggests a great deal about that first season of Sargent Camp, revealing a rushed sense of questionable permanence. Although the floor looks to be of lumbered wood, the tent's tarped roof is anchored at the top and the sides by preexisting trees with the sides held open to the breeze. Leading the pack in the post card of their arrival at camp, one of the Sargent Girls walks with eyes focused straight ahead, her face bearing a wide smile and confidently striding into camp. The very symbol of the strong Sargent Girl and the ideal

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[835] Lois Burstein, "The History of Sargent Camp, 1911-1962." (Paper prepared for Seminar in Educational Problems, Boston University, 1962), 2.
[836] Makechnie, *Optimal Health*, 72.
[837] George I. Vatcher to Sargent Camp, 13 June 1988, Handwritten letter in the Sargent Camp archives, The Monadnock Center for History and Culture at the Peterborough Historical Society, Peterborough, New Hampshire.

of Sargent Camp, she maintains her poise and strength of character while passing between the athletic fields and the wilderness landscape.

Dudley Sargent may have focused his professional work on women's physical education, but he was not a feminist. He was concerned with women's physical health, not the liberation of women or even women's suffrage. Sargent utilized physical development as preventative medicine and although a good portion of his career addressed increasing the quality of life for women, it was not due to any specific concerns about their social position in Victorian America. His goal was improving the condition of humanity overall and he saw women as the primary caregivers to America's youth. Sargent was very willing to challenge social norms when he felt they disrupted an individual's health, such as the limitation of physical activities or restrictive clothing, but he still believed that a woman's ultimate job was motherhood and physical education and development would contribute to that end.[838] Mindful that Boston society had been critical of the non-traditional activities of his students, Sargent Camp provided an arena where women could fully develop by engaging in sports and physical training activities outside of the judgmental eyes of the public. For Sargent, this was a chance at academic freedom and for the Sargent Girls a chance for personal freedom through physical expression.

The first season of Sargent Camp was a success. The participating students spent the month sleeping in the tents, bathing in the pond, and developing outdoor living skills

[838] Dudley Allen Sargent, "Are Athletics Making Girls Masculine? A Practical Answer to a Question Every Girl Asks" *Ladies Home Journal* 11 (March 1912).

as well as developing their skills in aquatics, field games and other sports, returning to Cambridge "bronzed, breezy, and bouncing."[839] Since his youth Sargent believed that "mild trials and tribulations" led to strong connections among people.[840] At Sargent Camp, his students faced challenges together as they built a community close to the natural world and as a result Sargent decided the program should be mandatory and incorporated into the curriculum for the whole school, thereby weaving a rugged communalism into their academic curriculum.

The 1913-1914 student handbook explained the role of the new Sargent Camp in the Sargent School curriculum: "When in 1912 it became evident that the three years' course did not give the student sufficient time to thoroughly equip herself to meet modern demands of physical training teachers the question arose of again lengthening the Normal course. It seemed advisable not to add another full year, but to include the months of September and June in the term, these months to be spent at the school Camp. This was judged to be not only the more economical plan for the pupils, but also an arrangement whereby they would secure great benefit from the outdoor life."[841] The handbook described the camp and its facilities in detail, and opened up the opportunity for school and college girls to spend July and August at the camp, working to practice sports and games by running a fitness-based summer camp for girls, serving ages 8 to 20, staffed by Sargent students and leading professionals in physical education.

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[839] Makechnie, *Optimal Health*, 73.
[840] Makechnie., 72.
[841] *Sargent School for Physical Education 1913-1914* (Boston: The Heitzemann Press, 1913), 9.

In the center of the student handbook a fold out section with three panoramic images from the camp illustrated this new direction for the progressive normal school. (Fig. 8.7) The top image looked north to the tennis courts and playing fields on the meadow, capturing the Sargent Girls actively playing field hockey, the tent kiosks nestled in the woods, and the main bungalow in the distance. In the second, Dr. Sargent stands on the shore of the beach, overseeing swimmers and paddlers frolicking in the water of Half Moon Pond while another camper mounted on horseback looks out over the water, subtly including horsemanship into the curriculum. The final image, taken from the tower of the Main Bungalow, looks west over the expansive sports fields to the summit of Mount Monadnock in the distance, blending the opportunity for physical development alongside a vision of moral development. The Sargent Girls in their white middy blouses are scattered across the various sports fields, focused on athletics, unaware of the spectator behind the camera. In all three images, the protective wall of mountains and white pines determined the boundaries of this special place. By 1913, the Sargent School was a three-year institution and each student would be required to attend Sargent Camp for four months during their program, in June of their Freshman year, September and June of their Junior year, and September of their Senior year. Included with explanations about the new camp, listings of courses and faculty, and required readings, the Sargent School handbook listed a variety of possible professions for Sargent grads. That list now included serving as an instructor or director of a summer camp.[842]

[842] *Sargent School for Physical Education, 1913-1914.* (Boston: The Heintzemann Press, 1913), 9-11.

In these landscape panoramas, the educators of Sargent School presented their answer to the crisis of girlhood, a marriage of sports and the wilderness under the watchful gaze of Dr. Sargent and the Sargent System. But there was more going on around the shores of Half Moon Pond. The thin New Hampshire soil had been an ecological barrier limiting the potential of those who tried to make the region's economy a monoculture of merino wool. But in the eyes of artists and writers, this reborn wilderness became a second growth tourist mecca and fertile ground for creativity. Its fields, forests, lakes and mountains also became fertile ground for the young women of Sargent School, who found a sheltered space to challenge Victorian ideals and express the emerging identity of the *New Girl* free from the judgmental eyes of urban and suburban America. Like Whittier, Emerson, Thayer, Cather, and others, they would find a chance to express themselves in the shadow of Mount Monadnock.

Post Cards, Scrap Books, and the Contested Space of Sargent Camp

In 1898, Congress authorized private companies to publish picture post cards that could be sent through the US mail at the post card rate. In 1906, this authorization was modified to incorporate the ½ message and ½ address format that is still used today. These actions set off a picture post card craze that lasted for the next decade as photographers published a wide variety of natural scenes and famous landmarks which were often saved in photo albums or hung on the wall as art.[843] The faculty and staff of Sargent School embraced this craze by publishing their own series of post cards highlighting life at camp, including the images of the girls arriving at camp (Figure 8.5

[843] Shirley Wajda, "A Room with a Viewer," in *Hard at Play: Leisure in America, 1840-1940* edited by Kathryn Grover (Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992), 132.

and Figure 8.6). The Sargent Camp post card imagery reflected the idyllic healthy environment of the camp as well as the strong positive outcomes of camp life. They showed strong confident women, but often with a masculine presence looking over. They showed charming rustic accommodations, but still with the finer elements of modern technology. As both promotions of the camp and images consumed by the students, they illustrated a distinct message about what the camp meant to counsellors and campers alike. The images also found their way into promotional brochures, national magazines, and camper scrap books, whose images revealed more of what life was like at Sargent Camp. Together, this visual record of life on the shores of Half Moon Pond drew on the imagery of the nineteenth century while charting a new direction for the progressive Sargent Girls.

The landscape images of Sargent Camp built on the imagery of the Hudson River School and White Mountain artists of the previous century, framing the camp experience as a wilderness setting. In *Road Near Sargent School Girls Camp* (Fig. 3.31), a colorized post card shows a two track dirt road curving into the forest, a natural path without signs, gates, or other man-made structures. The entrance appeared to lead to a timeless wilderness, but the early succession white birch and the low brush reveal a recent history of sheep fever and a wilderness restored, not preserved. *Drive along Half Moon Lake, Sargent Camp* (Fig. 3.30) visually picks up the narrative further along the same dirt road. On the waterfront, the built environment supported the program's aquatic adventures with a small dock in the foreground and the boathouse and swimming area in the background, but the natural elements of placid water reflects the blue sky and forest above harkening

back to the artistic ideals of Thomas Cole. In *Monadnock Mountain from Sargent Camp* (Fig. 3.28), the prominent summit of Grand Monadnock blends in with the cabins, tents, and sports fields of the little camp. This image was most likely taken in the first season of camp, as the housing still consisted primarily of tarped tents rather than the wooden kiosks constructed in 1916. In the bottom right of the image, a utility pole and electric wires are evident. Although the camp embraced an image of frontier outpost, Sargent installed a dynamo at the camp to generate its own electricity providing each of the tents with a single electric light bulb that the girls could use until "lights out" at 10 pm.[844]

Mount Monadnock was more than just a postcard image; it was also a central piece of their curriculum. Throughout their stay, the girls learned the skills necessary for the mountain climbing portion of the program. Practicing on the nearby summit of Mt. Skatutakee as well as on physical challenge activities like the wall climb at camp, the girls prepared for their two-day hike to the summit of Monadnock. Carl Schrader led the summit trips, but other faculty members participated as well, considering this to be one of the most essential activities to facilitate faculty-student understanding. The girls each carried a rubberized blanket and bedroll, a loaf of bread, other small meal items, and a drinking cup. (Figure 3.43) Loaded with their gear, the girls hiked out from camp on a twenty mile round trip to the summit and back. From the flanks of the mountain, the girls on the mountain and at Sargent Camp built campfires hoping to signal to each other. [845] At the summit, the hikers enjoyed the views that had inspired Emerson while also

[844] It is relevant that although this "wilderness environment" had electricity, the nearby town of Hancock was not electrified until some years later.
[845] "Dr. Sargent Starts a Camp to Make Girls Healthy," *New York Times*, September 22, 1912, page SM9; and Burstein, 6-7.

embodying the strong female mountain climbing image, snapping photos reminiscent of the art of Winslow Homer. (Figure 8.8)

Writing songs was an important pastime of the Sargent Campers and it was expected that the first sign of the returning Monadnock mountaineers would be the sounds of their songs echoing in the distance. The songs were often extemporaneously written by the Sargent Girls and then captured in their annual year book, *The Half Moon,* as well as an extensive collection of songs published as a booklet titled *Sargent Senior Camp Songs* in 1923, which described the experience of camp life at Sargent in the campers own words. The "Mountain Song," which was sung to the tune of "My Old Kentucky Home," illustrated the close connection between the Sargent Girls and Mount Monadnock.

Oh, the sun shines bright
On Monadnock's rugged height
Its outlines and shadows we adore,
We will climb its steeps
And its jagged rocky peaks,
And we'll sound its praises
Now and evermore

CH: Dear old Mount Monadnock
We've loved you from afar,
And we long to be
On the heights that we can see,

So grand old Mount Monadnock,

Here's to thee![846]

Other songs blended an homage to Monadnock with popular music, such as "It's a Long Way to Mount Monadnock," sung to "It's a Long Way to Tipperary." The "Bugle Song" set to the popular Civil War era tune "Marching Through Georgia" connected their camp experience to the memory of the Civil War. As much as Sargent Camp paralleled the larger camp movement, what made this particular program unique was its dedication to sports and the Sargent Method. The "Morning Drill" song, sung to the tune of "I've been Working on the Railroad" situated the camp into the lives of the girls and the activities that made up daily camp life.

Sing a song of summer,

Paddle that canoe,

That's what dear old Sargent

Teaches us to do.

Coney – for its midway,

North Shore – for its Stamp,

Newport – for its frocks and frills,

But for pleasure – Sargent Camp!

CH: We have lots to do at Sargent

All the livelong day.

[846] *Sargent Senior Camp Songs*. (Peterborough, New Hampshire, 1923), 9.

We have lots to do at Sargent
Just to pass the time away.
Don't you love the golf and tennis
Games and swimming, too?
Don't you love to be at Sargent
All the summer through?[847]

Many of the post cards in the Sargent collection focused on the natural and built environments, but the vast majority illustrated the most revolutionary element of Sargent Camp, the Sargent Girls in action. The representation of active, athletic young women was an expression of the *New Girl* in American society. Vigorous, self-confident, and rejecting the submissiveness of the Victorian age, the New Girl challenged preconceived notions of gender and femininity.[848] The imagery of the Sargent Girl was in many ways a recasting of the "Gibson Girl," the progressive era representation of women common in many national magazines. The Gibson Girl was tall, long-legged, graceful, provocative, modern, healthy and energetic.[849] By the early twentieth century, women's colleges in America were enrolling their second generation of students and the popular press represented them in a more playful manner than the first generation. Magazines described female college students through their adventures, escapades, and willingness to break curfew, but struggled to recognize them for their intellectual or professional

[847] *Sargent Senior Camp Songs*, 11.
[848] Julie Malnig, "Athena Meets Venus: Visions of Women in Social Dance in the Teens and Early 1920's" in *Dance Research Journal* 31 (Autumn, 1999): pp. 34-62.
[849] Lynn D. Gordon, "The Gibson Girl Goes to College: Popular Culture and Women's Higher Education in the Progressive Era, 1890-1920," *American Quarterly* 39 (Summer 1987): 211.

competence.[850] The Sargent Girls represented in the camp's imagery capture the same love of adventure and play, but for them professional competence was expressed in their athletic ability.

In Victorian America, the athletic world was purely masculine and so the New Girl pushed the bounds of gender through sport, allowing women to redefine femininity for the twentieth century. The two major concerns expressed regarding women and athletics were regarding the potential damage done to female reproductive organs and the potential of unleashing heterosexual passions.[851] Women were warned that athletics would send manly and unfeminine signals to the opposite sex and would result in heterosexual failure, meaning that men would not be interested in an athletic girl.[852] This opinion was not unanimous however. Basketball became the most popular sport with women across the United States in the first years of the twentieth century, transcending class and geographic boundaries. Ohio State University's women's basketball program drew a strong and increasing fan base as well as garnering positive press before it was shut down in 1907 because the university deemed women's competitive athletics inappropriate. By 1917, the Athletic Conference of American Women opposed all intercollegiate athletics for women, a decision that virtually ended women's intercollegiate sports until Title IX in 1972.[853] Luther Gulick came out against women's competitive sports in higher education, arguing that women's athletics had recreational

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[850] Gordon, 217-223.
[851] Susan K. Cahn, "From "Muscle Moll" to the "Butch" Ballplayer: Mannishness, Lesbianism, and Homophobia in U.S. Women's Sport," *Feminist Studies* 19 (Summer, 1993): 345.
[852] Cahn, 343-344.
[853] Robin Bell Markels, "Bloomer Basketball and Its Suspender Suppression: Women's Intercollegiate Competition at Ohio State, 1904-1907" *Journal of Sport History* 27 (Spring 2000): pp. 31-49.

value, but should not be used for public competition.[854] Throughout the Girl Scout handbook, Juliette Low expressed concern about women's athletics, arguing for some limits to ensure they didn't push too far.[855] And Delphine Hanna, Oberlin's Women's Athletic Director and a graduate of Sargent School, had opposed competitive athletics in the university curriculum since the 1890s.[856]

For Dudley Sargent and the directors of Sargent Camp, releasing images that demonstrated order and control were essential for public and parental consumption. In the postcard titled "Basket Ball," (Fig. 8.9) the women's feet are firmly rooted to the ground as Dr. Louis Burnett, an outside male observer, directs the movement. In "Fencing at Sargent Camp" (Fig. 8.10), the women demonstrate the uniformity of practiced drill, as they lunge and parry in perfect order. This was athletics without competitiveness, without the danger of becoming too masculine, and these images were utilized in both the publication of Sargent Camp post cards as well as in the promotional brochures of the summer program.

Sargent challenged the idea that women should not actively participate in a wide variety of sports, but he also defined limits on that participation. Publicly, he agreed that certain antagonistic, rough, strenuous, and violent sports such as baseball, boxing, wrestling, ice hockey, and rugby should be reserved for men, but he based his arguments on his assessment of physiology not reinforcing cultural norms. Drawing on his decade's long research that recorded the specific body measurements of thousands of students,

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[854] Markels, 41.
[855] Juliette Low, *How Girls Can Help Their Country.* (New York: Girl Scout National Headquarters, 1916).
[856] Markels, 40.

Sargent argued that training for these rougher sports deepened the chest, narrowed the hips and developed the arms, physical improvements that matched the physiology of men, not women. Sargent publically stated that man's historic and prehistoric role was to be the strong hunter and warrior, as evidenced by his physically larger size. Women played a distinctly different role, a woman would have had to manage survival through the partnership with a man, employing her abilities to please him and help him survive. With the arrival of the industrial revolution however, this ancient balance was challenged. The new question was not whether women should do the work of men, but more specifically what was women's work and what was men's? Physical size was no longer a defining trait for survival. Sargent observed: "Some of the specific mental and physical qualities which are developed by athletics are increased powers of attention, will, concentration, accuracy, alertness, quickness of perception, perseverance, reason, judgment, forbearance, patience, obedience, self-control, loyalty to leaders, self-denial, submergence of self, grace, poise, suppleness, courage, strength and endurance. These qualities are as valuable to women as to men."[857] Men's sports should be about learning heroics and women's sports about learning grace, but everyone should participate in sport in order to increase the overall fitness of the population. Sargent wrote that women were more suited to sports like dancing, gymnastics, archery, swimming, field hockey, lacrosse, bicycling, rowing, golf, canoeing, and fencing, but they still should learn about the "manly sports." To Sargent, the ancient role of women was to be the defender of

[857] Dudley Allen Sargent, "Are Athletics Making Girls Masculine? A Practical Answer to a Question Every Girl Asks" *Ladies Home Journal* 11 (March 1912).

morality, and by learning about men's sports, they could raise the expectations of morality of those sports and prevent unchecked male barbarism.[858]

As much as Sargent catered to public criticism of women's athletics, at Sargent Camp his faculty and students were free from the gaze of concerned citizens. Many of the post cards show the Sargent Girls engaged in aggressive and intense competition and although these images were rarely reproduced in the official camp brochures that were targeted at parents, their use as post cards and their appearance in camper scrap books suggest they were reflective of how the campers viewed their experience at Sargent Camp. In "Soccer Foot Ball" (Fig. 8.11), all of the players run for the ball, arms pumping and legs in the air. There is no uniform or restricted movement nor is there a recognition of the camera as a spectator, just a focus on the ball. In "Cross Ball," (Fig. 8.12) a game whose rulebook was written by Dr. Sargent himself, some of the girls on the perimeter may be standing with hands on their hips, but those in the center of the action aggressively fight for the ball. Sargent put great effort into assembling his highest quality instructional staff for his campers, most notably Constance Applebee, who was not only head of the athletic department at Bryn Mawr and Sargent Camp's head field hockey instructor, but also the person who introduced field hockey to America a decade earlier.

[858] Sargent, "Are Athletics Making Girls Masculine? A Practical Answer to a Question Every Girl Asks"; Dudley Allen Sargent, "Modern Woman Getting Nearer the Perfect Figure," *New York Times*, December 4, 1910, page SM4; and Dudley Allen Sargent, "Perils That Women Find in Athletics," *New York Times*, March 31, 1906, page 9.

These alert, aggressive field hockey players, trained by the best instructor in America, would help spread the sport across the country. (Fig. 8.13)[859]

The best evidence for Dr. Sargent's commitment to women's athletics is revealed in the acreage he committed to various sports fields at the camp. The central piece of land at the camp, and one of the primary reasons for its purchase, was its flat open meadow. The 1921campus map (Fig. 8.14) shows the placement of the different sports fields including: the 120 yard running track with hurdles and jump pit, volley ball court, captain ball court, cross ball court, tennis courts, basketball courts, field hockey field, tether ball, playground, softball diamond, soccer field, shot put circles, archery range, croquet court, outdoor gymnasium, and four hole golf course. One particularly interesting contradiction revealed by the layout of camp is the inclusion of a baseball diamond on the west side, even though Sargent publicly stated that baseball was too violent for women to play.[860] This was not a camp with a general multi-use ball field; at Sargent Camp each sport had its own field measured and marked to the exact specifications. All of the housing, tents, and the two bungalows faced into the meadow, focusing all attention on the importance of sport. The barrier of the meadow road and the dense forest kept back unwanted eyes and allowed a space for women to compete on this field of their own. This barrier also served as a rejection of the growing attention paid to spectator sports. The 1920s saw a shift to the American public as consumers of sporting events, making

[859] Burstein, 6-10; *Sargent Camp for Girls – Tenth Season*. (no publication information, 1921); *Sargent Camp for Girls – Twelfth Season*. (Peterborough, New Hampshire: Transcript Printing Company, 1923); *Sargent Camp For Girls.* (no publishing information, 1927); and *Sargent Camp for Girls.* (no publishing information, 1929).
[860] Sargent, "Are Athletics Making Girls Masculine? A Practical Answer to a Question Every Girl Asks".

national figures out of talented athletes, but Sargent rejected that movement, focusing on the work ethic of athletics rather than the leisure ethic of spectator sports.[861] At Sargent Camp, there were no bleachers, no ticket sales, and everyone played.

The clothing worn by the Sargent Girls also reflected their challenge to contemporary gender norms, whether in their athletic attire or what they wore for their plays, pageants, and special events at camp. One of the icons highlighted repeatedly in the Sargent Camp promotional materials is the Sargent Camp Outfit. The Sargent Girls were required to bring the following for their uniform: 1 pair all-wool black bloomers, 1 pair black cotton bloomers, 2 Sargent Camp ties (one red and one black), 6 regulation middies (all white), 2 swimming suits (black), 6 pairs black cotton hose, 2 pairs black woolen hose, 2 pairs white sneakers, 1 raincoat/poncho, and one heavy sweater.[862] This uniform allowed the Sargent Girls to run, jump and play sports without the physical limitations of popular fashion. (Figure 7.15) For many of his conservative contemporaries, Sargent's requirement for women to wear bloomers was too radical a move for female attire. Pre-twentieth century women wore long dresses for a number of reasons, including warmth and hiding the varicose veins, but there were health reasons as well. Without proper health and sanitation practices, the fungal infection known as thrush struck many women whose clothes did not allow her body to breathe. The painful itching caused by thrush intensified under warm and humid conditions so wearing pants

[861] Mark Dyreson, "The Emergence of Consumer Culture and the Transformation of Physical Culture: American Sport in the 1920s" *Journal of Sport History* 16 (Winter 1989): pp. 261-281.
[862] *Sargent Camp for Girls – Twelfth Season* (Peterborough, New Hampshire: Transcript Printing Company, 1923), 36.

or knickers during physical activities was seen as a recipe for infection.[863] Sargent criticized the long dresses and corsets that made up nineteenth century fashion. He argued that the long dresses could trip up a running woman, causing injury. In order to prove the danger of corsets, Sargent tested his theories by having his students run 100 yards wearing corsets and then running the same on the following day without wearing them. He recorded blood pressure, heart rate, and running speed in order to calculate the impact of clothing on performance. In the corseted race, not only did the women run slower, but had much higher blood pressure and heart rates, with a number of the girls even passing out at the end of the race.[864] Bloomers were a popular compromise that allowed for freedom of movement, airflow, and a near skirt-like appearance that could maintain a feminine look that would not offend a more conservative observer. In bloomers, Sargent Girls could reach their physical potential in ways that polite society would have never imagined.

The emergence of the "New Girl" in early twentieth century America raised questions regarding the boundaries of gender in society. The new professional roles taken by women during this period led to serious anxiety that questioned whether this "New Girl" was actually a third gender.[865] In magazines and the popular press, representation of the "New Girl" as athletic cast them as vigorous and self-confident,

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[863] Janet Phillips and Peter Phillips, "History from Below: Women's Underwear and the Rise of Women's Sport," *Journal of Popular Culture* 27 (Fall 1993): 133.
[864] Dudley Allen Sargent, *Physical Education*, 279.
[865] Julie Malnig, "Athena Meets Venus: Visions of Women in Social Dance in the Teens and Early 1920's" in *Dance Research Journal* 31 (Autumn, 1999): 34.

rejecting the Victorian submissiveness of the older generation.[866] As Americans searched for archetypes to recast this tension over femininity, Classical ideals became popular. Grecian-inspired imagery represented women as either a modern Athena, fit, well-rounded, and cultured or Venus, young, spritely, and more of a flapper with a stronger expression of sexuality.[867] Central to the Venus image was a more natural body shape, unchanged by corsets or other artificial restrictions to physical movement. These classical tropes influenced Abbott Thayer, who also shared Sargent's concern that women's corsets led to health problems. The balance of Athenian and Venusian imagery became part of Sargent Camp's promotional material, as seen in the 1921 camp brochure. (Figure 8.16) Here, the elegant and spritely Venus-inspired Pageant Groups on one page, balanced by the aggressive and physical chariot racing Athenians.

As the "New Girls" challenged pre-established norms across America, they pushed back the boundaries of gender and opened spaces for women in areas previously dominated by Victorian men. The assault on Victorian restriction was reinforced by an assertive working-class youth culture, a women's movement that focused on public activism, and a pleasure oriented consumer culture.[868] Public debates in the early 1900s revolved around the "mannishness" that resulted from women's athletics, assuming a failure of heterosexuality as athletic women would be considered unattractive to men, but

[866] Mahnig, 38.
[867] Mahnig, 35.
[868] Susan K. Cahn, "From the "Muscle Moll" to the "Butch" Ballplayer: Mannishness, Lesbianism, and Homophobia in U.S. Women's Sport," in *Feminist Studies* 19 (Summer, 1993): pp. 343-368; Peiss, *Cheap Amusements*.

those debates failed to connect a lack of femininity to any type of homosexuality.[869] It was not until the mid-twentieth century that lesbianism and women's sports were more heavily associated, with team sports providing safe zones for lesbian women to socialize within an extended network of women.[870] Girl Scouting also provided a similar network, allowing troop leaders the opportunity to build relationships within the accepted community of scouting.[871] *The Half Moon*, Sargent Camp's summer yearbook printed by and for the campers and not parents or potential campers, prominently displayed images of all female couples in male clothing and romantic poses. (Figure 8.17) Camper scrap books, such as Virginia Littlefield's from 1925, also showed an interest in capturing these special moments at camp between the Sargent Girls. (Figure 8.18) Protected by both athletics and the camp environment, the Sargent Girls had a space that allowed them free interactions that would have been much more difficult to express in Boston.[872] It is important to note that women in the nineteenth century commonly held deeply intimate and emotional same-sex relationships that were long lasting and often more significant than marital relationships in a woman's life. This was in many ways a result of the Victorian separate sphere's that kept men and women apart in schools, work, and most other cultural functions of life. The late twentieth and twenty-first century dichotomy of heterosexuality or homosexuality is not necessarily appropriate in interpreting the images

[869] Cahn, 346.
[870] Cahn, 358.
[871] Tammy M. Proctor, *Scouting for Girls: A Century of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts*. (Denver, Colorado: Praeger, 2009), 54-57.
[872] This is not to say that these images specifically identify the sexual preferences of any of the campers, rather, that the space created by a camp designed around women's athletics allowed for an expressiveness of intimacy that would not have been acceptable in urban areas.

and expressions of affection demonstrated by these women.[873] Sargent School and Sargent Camp were homosocial worlds and so it is likely that bonds of friendship would form that were akin to those of the nineteenth century.

Not all female athletic activities challenged gender norms of early twentieth century Americans. Swimming and diving allowed for a blend of healthy athleticism and heterosexual attractiveness in popular culture.[874] Annette Kellerman, the Australian diver turned movie star was publically acknowledged as "the most beautifully formed woman of modern times" by none other than Dudley Sargent.[875] Her physical health and fitness, represented in a Hellenistic fashion free from the restrictive attire of corsets or long dresses, set the ideal for the Sargent Girls. Women athletes were much more likely to appear in newspaper pictures, while male athletes would have more written on them. Those images of men that were published were of them in athletic poses, whereas the women's photos were more revealing and designed for the male readers. Men were represented as athletes, women as mermaids.[876] Due to the increased attention the American media paid to women's Olympic swimming and diving in the 1920s, the imagery of Sargent Girls on the waterfront became central to the camp's promotions.

Half Moon Pond, the sixty-acre body of water 70 yards north of the Main Bungalow was an important draw for students and campers. Swimming, canoeing, and

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[873] Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth Century America," *Signs* 1 (Autumn, 1975): pp. 1-29.
[874] Cahn, 346.
[875] Malnig, 48; Dudley A. Sargent, "Modern Woman Getting Nearer the Perfect Figure," *New York Times*, December 4, 1910, page SM4.
[876] Mark Dyreson, "Icons of Liberty or Objects of Desire? American Women Olympians and the Politics of Consumption," *Journal of Contemporary History* 38 (July 2003): 436.

diving were generally considered appropriate sports for female participation, and Sargent Camp provided a place outside of the public gaze for women to learn them. Crew was also an important sport at the camp, due in no small part to Sargent's personal interest. At Bowdoin, he had rowed on the first intercollegiate Bowdoin Crew.[877] The only known post card in which Sargent personally appears is "Dr. Sargent and a Winning Crew." (Fig 8.19) In "Water Sports Sargent Girls Camp" (Fig. 8.20), the students and teachers showed their playful side, swimming around, sliding, and diving off of the pond's raft. Dr. Burnett appeared at the bottom of the slide, sleeveless and flexing his muscles. The seclusion of the camp may have helped to minimize the male gaze, but there was still a strong masculine presence. In "Water Sports Sargent School Camp" (Fig. 8.21), Burnett is pictured again, this time with a bull horn and directing what may be the Life Saving course. "War Canoe Race" (Fig. 8.22) and "Swallow Dive" (Fig. 8.23) showed that water sports at camp were not just playful but that focused physical training and competitiveness had a role on the water as well.

Eleanor Doty came to Sargent Camp during these early years and took her camera with her. The photo album she assembled of her memories as a student was not designed to promote the camp or relieve concerns of anxious parents. Her scrap book included her photos, the promotional post cards, and commentary text cut from magazine headlines, capturing a slightly different Sargent Camp, one from the student's perspective, not that of Dr. Sargent or the Sargent School faculty. Among pictures like the athletic shots of girls high jumping or crossing the finish line (Fig. 8.15) are photos of "The Burden

[877] Sargent, *An Autobiography*, 114.

Carriers of Today" beginning their trek up Monadnock (Fig. 8.24), but there are far more posed informal shots that reveal the day to day fun of camp. On the same page as the image of the Sargent Girls marching off to Monadnock, appear images of five girls posing by a tent, and then again on the beach, leading "The Comfortable Life." On a page with the bold title of "How I Helped My Husband Make More Money," Sargent Girls are shown washing their feet, playing the accordion, and doing handstands (Fig. 8.25). In fact, there are many images of handstands throughout the album (Fig. 8.26) on the beach, in the field, in the woods, and even in the snow. Her photo album showed a life at camp based on group development and personal friendships, not personal development and physical fitness. Playing music, brushing their teeth, and dressed up for mock weddings, the women in these photos show what life at Sargent Camp was like when practice was over. These were the significant memories captured and saved. On one particular page, Sargent Girls ascend up and over a 15-foot wall (Fig. 8.27). This challenge, which Sargent had incorporated in the Hemenway Gymnasium at Harvard years before, was one of his culminating initiatives. Sargent felt that cooperative concern for others was what separated civilization from the primitive. He saw this as very evident in the activity of wall scaling, which he viewed as a contest and "as symbolic of the struggles of life in a nobler sense, that not only the heroic virtues may be cultivated and displayed – but the spirit of faith, trust, cooperation, and helpfulness are developed to the highest degree."[878]

[878] Makechnie, *Optimal Health*, 76; Eleanor Doty's Photo Album in the Sargent Camp archives, The Monadnock Center for History and Culture at the Peterborough Historical Society, Peterborough, New Hampshire. This particular image in Doty's album is of rather unique importance. In the 1970's Project Adventure, Inc. adopted the wall challenge as one of their early elements as they invented the concept of

Photo albums were not the only way the Sargent Campers recorded their experiences. At the end of each season, the girls assembled a yearbook, *The Half Moon.* *The Half Moon* included the results of the summer's sports competitions, records made, and accounts of specifically interesting games. At the beginning of the summer, the girls were separated into two teams named for the school's colors, Red and Black. Throughout the summer, the Reds and Blacks competed, developed cheers and fight songs, and recorded their adventures in poetry and prose. These were chronicled in *The Half Moon*, along with inside jokes, drawings, and references to specific humorous events. Comments about midnight raids, falling out of bed, and mice eating lipstick appear within the poems and stories, illustrating the daily lives and culture of Sargent Camp. One feature in the 1924 *Half Moon* was the Prophecy page, listing every camper's name, nickname, favorite expression, "Chief Occupation," and a prediction of what they will be doing "Twenty Years Hence."[879] In a 1918 piece, campers asked themselves "What would happen –":

> "To Lodge B if the banner wasn't missing each morning?"
>
> "To Buzz if K4 had no mirrors?"
>
> "To Bobbie if she lost that grin?"
>
> "To "Bee" if she wore her hair band like a "regular guy?" [880]

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challenge courses for experiential education. This image shows that Sargent had utilized the same activity at Sargent Camp, fifty years before it would become a standard in the adventure education curriculum.

[879] Campers of Sargent Summer Camp, *The Half Moon – 1924.* (No publishing information, 1924), 52-53.

[880] Sargent Campers, *The Half Moon – 1918.* (New York: The Patteson Press, 1918), 10.

The Half Moon also included reviews of plays and "Impromptu Vaudeville" events, as well as the texts to the toasts given at the closing banquet. The end of the book included the home addresses of each camper and alumnae notes refer to past campers, allowing campers to continue contact after leaving Sargent. The focus, like in Eleanor Doty's photo album, was on the events of day-to-day life and camper relationships. Although the camp may have been designed to promote the physical abilities of the girls who attended, their own accounts suggest the real value of the camp was that it provided a safe place for these young women to create a community of their own, where they could take risks, honor each other, and enjoy life in the out of doors. This may not have been Dr. Sargent's original goal, but it was a good portion of the result.[881]

Although *The Half Moon* chronicled the adventures of the July-August camp program at Sargent Camp, there is no such publication for the June and September academic programs. The accounts of these experiences are more anecdotal and often more risqué. Esther Fitts, whose father had helped build the Main Bungalow, recalled how her brothers and the other high school boys in Peterborough looked forward to the "summer visits of the girls from away." On Saturdays, the girls would come into town in a truck, dressed in their middy blouses and bloomers. The boys who had cars would offer to take them back to camp "slowly, or via the long way." If they got in after the lights out bugle call, "there could be a joy ride in the dark as well."[882] Other Sargent Girls recall paddling by sunset while listening to music played on a Victrola, hikes to the MacDowell

[881] Sargent Campers, *The Half Moon – 1918*.; Campers of Sargent Summer Camp, *The Half Moon – 1924* (no publishing information, 1924).
[882] Esther Fitts, "Peterborough – A Good Town to Live In." A recorded history and reminiscence of life in Peterborough. In the collection of the Peterborough Historical Society. Approximate date, 1981.

Art Colony, and attending pageants in Hancock, including one also attended by First Lady, Grace Coolidge.[883]

The intent of summer camp was to provide a place and an opportunity for children to develop and grow in a natural environment. Sargent's objectives for Sargent Camp included an improved poise, increased alertness, awakened moral responsibility, social consciousness, sense of reverence for nature, and development of skill and grace. The Camp also taught that: "the most essential thing in athletics for girls as well as boys is not in winning a victory or avoiding a defeat, but in striving to excel and the good feeling it fosters between those who play the game fairly and have no excuse when they lose."[884] Whether intentionally or not, Sargent achieved more than this. By providing this space, far from the control of parents or expectations of society, Sargent created opportunities for his students to accomplish physical feats, challenge themselves, form communities, and tell their stories in photo, poem, and prose. Through special events, publications, and even late night escapades, they were able to ritualize and define their community. They could honor their heroes by acknowledging the victors, razz the clowns through inside jokes, and experiment in defining their identity without the daily critique of family and hometown friends.

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[883] Joan Brewster, "Recreation," in *Our Changing Town: Peterborough 1939-1989* by the Peterborough Historical Society (Portsmouth, NH: Peter E. Randall Publisher, 1996), 588.
[884] *Sargent Camp for Girls – Twelfth Season* (Peterborough, New Hampshire: Transcript Printing Company, 1923), 9-10.

Day is done, Gone the sun.

The first year Sargent Camp opened, Dudley A. Sargent was sixty-three years old. Two years later, he began to hand the reigns of his school to his son, Ledyard. Ledyard Sargent was made Assistant to the President and gradually assumed more responsibility over the school and the camp. In 1919, Dr. Sargent retired from his position at Harvard, but stayed as President of the Sargent School. As the public school system became more elaborate and standards for schoolteachers increased nationally, there were calls to again expand the curriculum for normal schools. In 1921, rather than expand Sargent School, Ledyard made an agreement with Arthur Wilde, Dean of Boston University's School of Education, wherein Sargent graduates could continue at BU for one year and earn their baccalaureate degree.[885] Changing times were coming.

Aged and frequently ill, Dr. Sargent stopped teaching at the Camp that bore his name. He would often spend his days sitting in a rocker on his front porch and talking with the girls. When his health would not allow him to walk across the entire meadow, the staff provided him with a chair in the middle of the field so he could see everything that was going on. When he felt fit, he enjoyed observing the camp from a tree house on the edge of the meadow. At the closing banquet of each camp season, after all of the awards and toasts were given, Dr. Sargent would give the closing address, until 1924.[886]

Although he had been ill for much of his last year, he suffered no "lingering illness" during his final days. Instead he spent his time rocking on his porch, talking with campers who sat at his feet. He had missed the June camp, and was apparently pleased to

[885] Makechnie, Optimal Health, 78.
[886] Burstein, 4-5.

be back in Peterboro for the summer season. But on the morning of July 21, the Sargent Campers were notified that Dr. Sargent had passed away in his cottage. The flag was lowered to half-mast, and the girls stopped their activities and went back to their cabins. Later in the day, the Junior Campers, Senior Campers, and the girls in the Sargent Club gathered around the flagpole for a memorial service. They sang two of Dr. Sargent's favorite hymns, "Nearer My God to Thee" and "Now the Day is Over," and recited the Lord's Prayer. Then the Senior bugler sounded "Retreat," followed by the Junior Campers singing "Taps" with the Junior bugler performing the echo.[887] Ironically, this professor who had spent much of his life differentiating between physical education and military training, was honored by his students with a memorial service rich in military tradition.

It is impossible to know what exactly was going on in the minds of these young campers on the day that Dr. Sargent passed away. For many, this may have been their first experience with death, and although some were most likely too young to have understood the historical significance of this man, they would at least have seen him as the grandfatherly character in their "wilderness" community. Sargent Camper Kelsea Griffin put words to her experience in the prize-winning poem of the 1924 season, *To Dr. Sargent*. Rich with the intergenerational reverence expressed by a youth touched by the death of a respected elder, the poem weaves together archetypical gender themes of masculine virtues of a lost hero and the feminine expression of undying love.

[887] Campers of Sargent Summer Camp, *The Half Moon – 1924* (no publishing information, 1924), 6.

To Dr. Sargent

O dear, kind soul that made this possible –
This camp – this happy carefree life we live –
To you we bring our grateful recognition;
To you our never-changing love we give.

For, ever with your noble dream before you,
You worked and strove to make your plan come true;
O pioneer, you trod new ground, unswerving;
You knew that you were right – you dared to do!

You heard and understood a million voices
That called to you. You proved yourself a friend.
Brave, fearless, dauntless, you were ever ready
Your spirit, strength, and helping hand to lend.

You planned and worked as few have done before you,
And lived till you had seen your dreams fulfilled,
And even had enjoyed their consummation,
But now – your noble kindly heart is stilled.

But ever will we feel your strength and spirit,
Your guidance, counsel – all are with us yet.

'Though time will bear us on in different courses,
The girls of Sargent Camp will not forget.[888]

Kelsea could have been a teenager when the 19th Amendment was passed four years before; she could have been younger. She may have understood the importance of the new right to vote, but she would probably not have had much of an understanding about the long fight for women's suffrage, or how Sargent's work had helped American women. Her understanding of his "noble dream" may have been about the improvement of public health through physical education and preventative medicine, but it may also have been about the creation of a physical and athletic profession for women. Was this new ground he "trod" about health or equality? Miss Griffin noted that Sargent "heard and understood a million voices that called to you. You proved yourself a friend." For Kelsea Griffin, Sargent had used his strength and status as a national figure and respected educator to open a door to her and her sisters during a time when the gender structure in America was being redefined.

Ledyard Sargent and his wife Etta continued to run Sargent School and Sargent Camp until 1929. Camp life in America was changing, as was college life. Facing the pressure to keep pace with the rising expectations of higher education, the Sargents realized that the school had three options before it: 1) to add a fourth year and become a degree granting institution; 2) to close the school; or, 3) to incorporate into another

[888] Campers of Sargent Summer Camp, *The Half Moon – 1924* (no publishing information, 1924), 17.

existing institution.[889] In April 1929, Ledyard offered the school to Dean Wilde and President Marsh of Boston University, and the following month Sargent School joined Boston University.[890] Upon Ledyard's recommendation, Ernst Hermann, who had been an instructor at Sargent, became the Director of the Sargent School of Physical Education within Boston University's School of Education.[891] In the "Greeting from Mr. Hermann" at the beginning of the 1930 SED yearbook, Hermann noted that the union of the two schools "simply proved what the donor of the Sargent School had in mind that the School needed the broadening and stimulating influences of a large university."[892]

Sargent Camp was not included as part of the deal. Originally purchased by a corporation made up of the Sargent family and the school's faculty and administrators, it was not technically the property of Ledyard Sargent to give away. The corporation agreed to offer the June/September camp programs in 1929, but made no commitments beyond that. When the Depression hit, the University's financial situation worsened and the purchase of the camp seemed unlikely. Dean Wilde asked the faculty of the Sargent School if a camp program was necessary in the curriculum, and the response was unanimously affirmative. At first, Wilde looked at creating a replica of Sargent Camp on Nickerson Field, the university's athletic field located in Weston, MA, but the unique character of mountains, woods, lakes, and streams of the Monadnock region were unmatched. Next, Wilde looked in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Cape Cod to find a suitable replacement for Sargent Camp, but could find nothing that offered the

[889] Makechnie, *Optimal Health*, 80.
[890] Ibid., 81.
[891] Ibid., 86.
[892] *Boston University School of Education Yearbook – 1930*, 15.

resources on the shore of Half Moon Pond. Even as the Depression worsened, President Marsh decided to purchase Sargent Camp, and on January 9, 1930, it became part of Boston University. [893]

In Eleanor Doty's photo album, one image captures the essence of Sargent Camp. Included on a page with groups of Sargent Girls is one where an elderly bearded man in a straw hat stands behind a group of campers (Figures 8.28 and 8.30). With hair pulled back and slightly out of place, these Sargent Girls look as if they spent an active morning outside, bearing squinted smiles in the face of the mid-day sun. With the fresh air of the broad open sky above and the fresh green grass on the bottom, the women are together in a natural space, with Dr. Sargent looking on behind them. Dudley A. Sargent had spent his life working to improve the physical health of the American people by educating the young about nutrition, sport, and the importance of maintaining an active lifestyle. Shunned by many in higher education and criticized by the public at large, he followed his vision and managed to bring much of it to reality. Sargent was both a product of his generation and a champion for the next. He did not set out to reconstruct the role of women in American society, but rather fought to provide them with the opportunity to develop physically so that they could be better wives and mothers. In doing so however, Sargent created a space for young women to connect, form strong communities outside of their traditional family structures, and support each other. Initially having started this process with his physical education programs at Sargent School, he broadened and

[893] Makechnie, *Optimal Health*, 86-87. The original Nickerson Field had been taken by eminent domain in 1955 to build the Mass Turnpike. The funds from that sale were invested in the renovation of the former Braves Field on Commonwealth Avenue, and it was renamed Nickerson Field.

focused those relationships in the relative seclusion of Sargent Camp. There girls as young as eight could learn and play with teenagers and college girls, as they taught each other how exactly one could "play like a girl."

While the Sargent Girls made their hike from Halfmoon Pond to the summit of Monadnock, another educator was hiking the trails from the mountain's Halfway House. Elizabeth Weston Timlow was the principal of a private girls' school in Washington, DC and founded the Cloverside School for Girls in Montclair, New Jersey and each summer, she retreated to the flanks of Mount Monadnock.[894] Her philosophy of education rested on the belief that girls should be separated from their home, allowing them to find a place where they could spread their wings and test themselves, finding strength and confidence outside of the home. Once a girl understood her abilities in this environment, she was able to return to her community confident and independent.[895] While hiking alone on the mountain in 1921, she claimed to hear the voice of the mountain speaking to her in Latin, "Go on where the way will lead you." She raced back to her room in the Halfway House and wrote *The Heart of Monadnock*.[896] The book, an allegory patterned after Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, follows the main character of "Mountain-Lover" who gets lost on Monadnock, but eventually hears the mountain's voice and follows it home. Throughout the book, Timlow quotes Emerson's *Monadnoc* and refers to Thoreau, Thayer, and

[894] Elizabeth Weston Timlow, *The Heart of Monadnock.* (Keene, New Hampshire: Surry Cottage Books, 2008. Originally published in 1922), 11-13.
[895] Timlow, 21-23.
[896] Timlow, 29.

William James. For her, "Monadnock came to mean everything in the world that is helping and healing and full of quiet."[897] The lessons of nature came from hiking the mountain, from physically experiencing and peacefully listening to the lessons of nature. Only through the Transcendental interaction with Monadnock would a hiker be inoculated from the pains of life in the city. The mountain itself became a spiritual landscape akin to Christian and Christiana's journey to the Celestial City. Near the end of the text, Monadnock speaks to "Mountain-Lover," saying: "Just as your body needs the freshness and purity and freedom from material dust, even so your soul needs to mount sunny heights far distant if it would live and breathe. . . You need these mountain-tops of your inner being."[898]

When *Pilgrim's Progress* was written, New Englanders saw their wilderness and their children as corrupted by Satan and in need of domination. But as the nineteenth century progressed, those two beliefs completely transformed. A connection to the wild landscape became an essential piece of an American childhood, necessary for any child's education. Infused with a Romantic perspective on the landscape and child development as well as a Transcendental pedagogy, outdoor education exploded on the scene as a means to meet that need, providing children with a chance to find themselves and each other amidst the chaos of modernity. Whether in the White Mountains, the Berkshires, the Adirondacks, the Smoky Mountains, the Sierra Nevadas, or on the lakes of

[897] Timlow, 40.
[898] Timlow, 184.

Minnesota, children throughout the twentieth century went into the wild to discover something in themselves, something that they could only find in the wilderness.

Image Appendix

Chapter 1 Images

Figure 1.1: Thomas Cole, *Expulsion from the Garden of Eden*, 1828.

Figure 1.2: Thomas Smith, *Self-Portrait*, 1680.

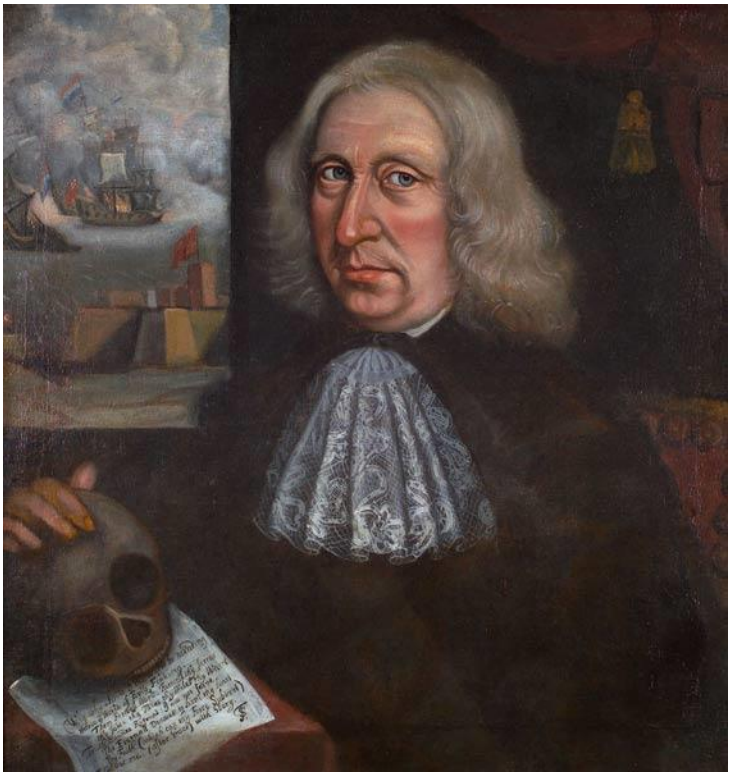


Figure 1.3: *New England Primer*, 1727.

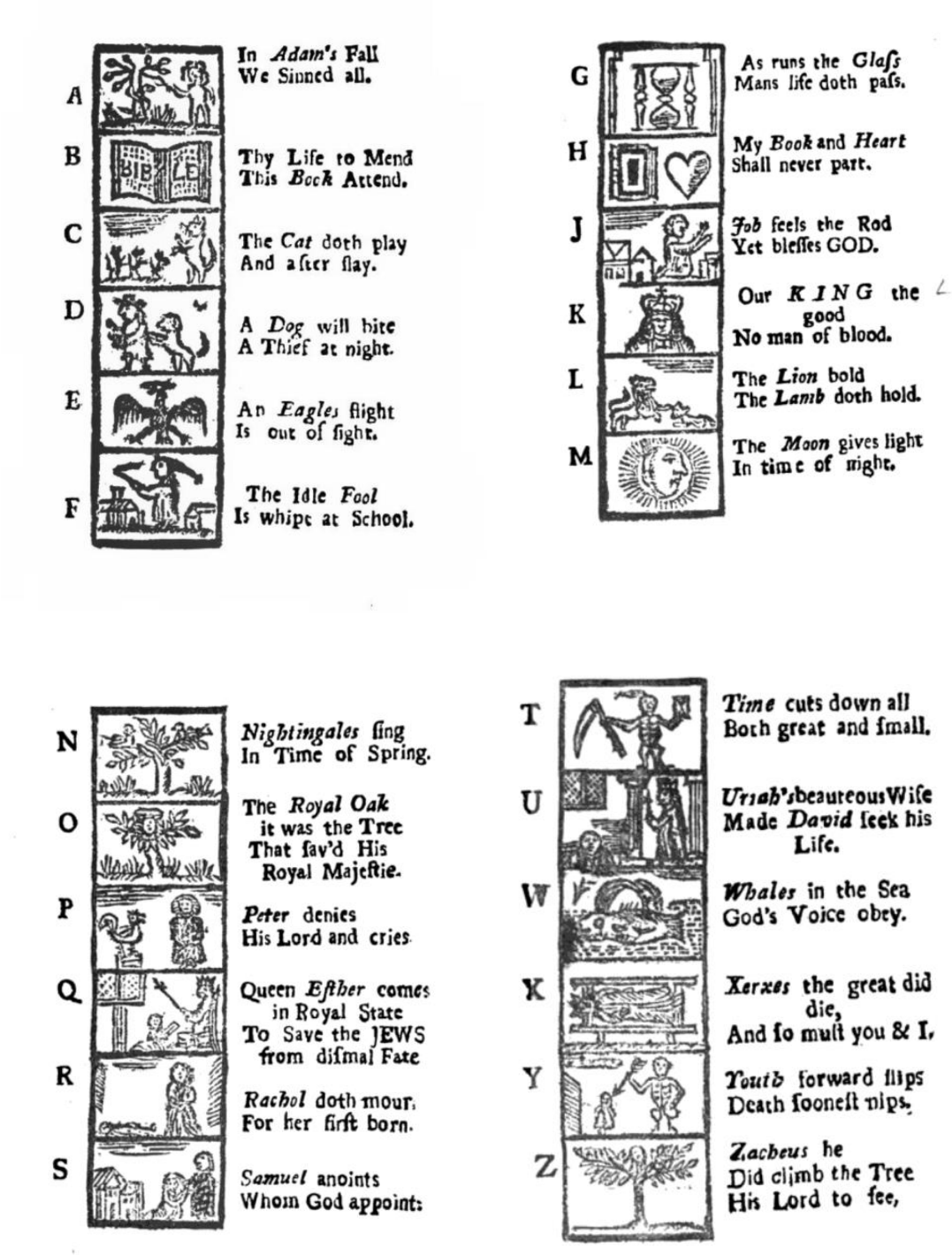


Figure 1.4: Unidentified Artist, *Landscape (View of a Town)*, after 1753.

Figure 1.5: Unidentified Artist, *Overmantel from the Reverend Joseph Wheeler House*, about 1787-93.

Figure 1.6: Ralph Earl, *Looking East from Denny Hill*, 1800.

Chapter 3 Images

Figure 3.1: Thomas Cole, *Tornado*, 1835.

Figure 3.2: Thomas Cole, *Daniel Boone Sitting at the Door of his Cabin on the Great Osage Lake, Kentucky*, 1826.

Figure 3.3: Thomas Cole, *The Hunter's Return,* 1845.

Figure 3.4: Thomas Cole, *Home in the Woods*, 1847.

Figure 3.5: Thomas Cole, *Mount Chocorua*, 1827.

Figure 3.6: Thomas Cole, *View in the White Mountains (Mount Washington from Bretton Woods)*, 1827.

Figure 3.7: Thomas Cole, *A View of the Mountain Pass Called the Notch of the White Mountains (Crawford Notch)*, 1839.

Figure 3.8: Benjamin Champney, *Thompson Falls and the Saco Valley*, 1855.

Figure 3.9: Asher B. Durand, *Mount Washington from the Saco River, North Conway*, 1855.

Figure 3.10: Jasper Francis Cropsey, *Mount Washington from Sebago, Maine*, 1875.

Figure 3.11: Frank Henry Shapleigh, *Crawford Valley from Mount Willard*, 1877.

Figure 3.12: Edward Hill, *Eagle Cliff from Profile Lake*, 1883.

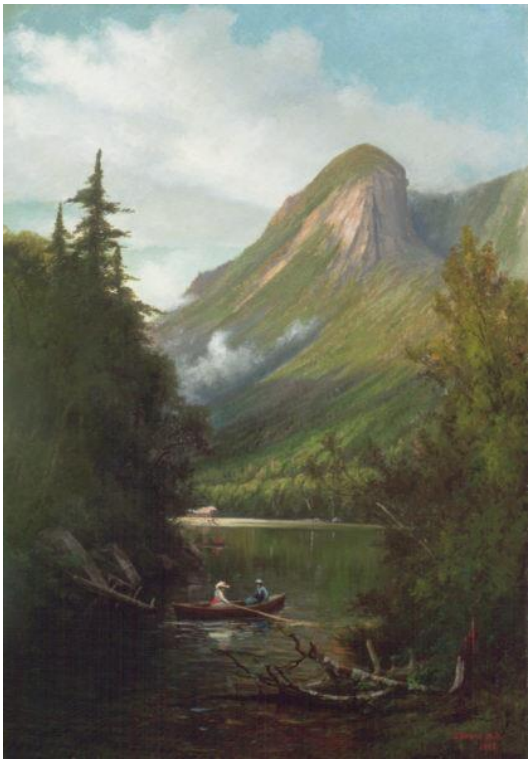


Figure 3.13: Samuel Lancaster Gerry, *Old Man of the Mountains Near Profile House, White Mtns.*, 1886.

Figure 3.14: Edward Hill, *Franconia Notch, White Mts. - - Echo Lake and Profile House*, 1887.

Figure 3.15: Winslow Homer, *Bridal Path White Mountains*, 1869.

Figure 3.16: Winslow Homer, *The Summit of Mount Washington, Harper's Weekly*, 7/10/1869.

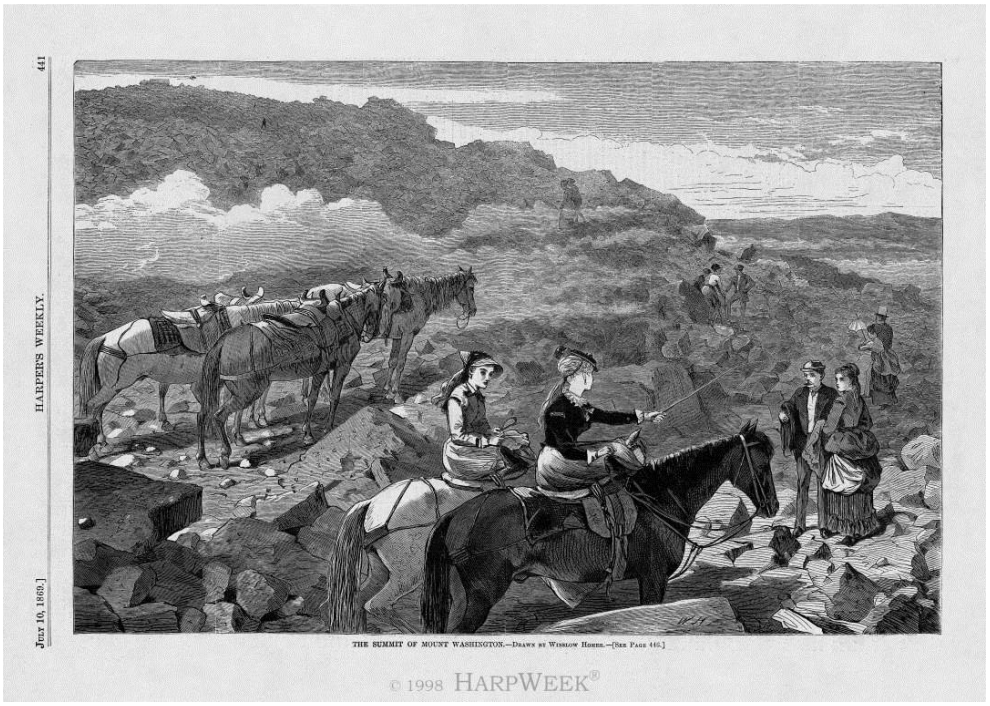


Figure 3.17: Winslow Homer, *The Coolest Spot in New England – Summit of Mount Washington*, Harper's Bazaar, 7/23/1870.

Figure 3.18: Harry Fenn, *The Descent from Mt Washington*, 1872.

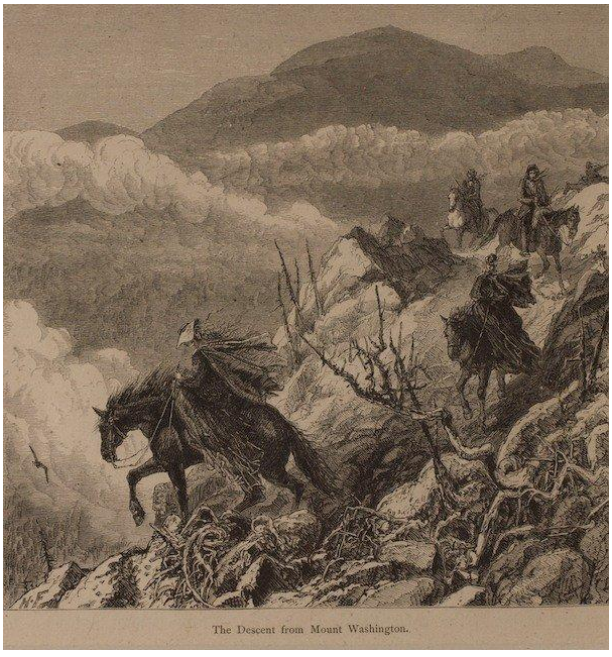


Figure 3.19: Winslow Homer, *The Fishing Party*, Appleton's Journal of Literature, Science, and Art, 10/2/1869.

THE FISHING PARTY.

Figure 3.20: Winslow Homer, *Under the Falls, Catskill Mountains*, Harper's Weekly, 11/7/1874.

UNDER THE FALLS, CATSKILL MOUNTAINS.

Figure 3.21: *A Trip to the White Mountains*, Harper's Weekly, 8/22/1857.

536 HARPER'S WEEKLY. [AUGUST 22, 1857.

A TRIP TO THE WHITE MOUNTAINS.

CRY OF "FIRE!" ON BOARD THE BOSTON BOAT.

My name is Peter Plum. You will not find it in this year's Directory. When I withdrew from business I took it out, intending to go and live in Europe for a couple of years. Circumstances which are no business of yours have detained me here. Mayn't I do as I please?

When Mrs. P. said to me, "My dear, we would so like to go to the White Mountains this August," I knew how it would be. I knew that we should be horribly bored, and worried to death with all manner of inconveniences; that a month on Blackwell's Island, or a short term in the Penitentiary would be preferable in many respects; but as my old father used to say, "Peter, when your wife says, 'We would like,' that means, 'My boy, you must!'" so I answered, "Mrs. P., when will you leave?"

It was on a Wednesday evening that we were transported, among other convicts, in the Sound steamer —— (I suppose it would be libelous to mention the name of the steamer), bound for a Sound port which I need not mention, half-way between this and Boston. Though our fellow-sufferers were in very good spirits considering the pass to which they had come, I will admit that the police arrangements of the steamer were complete. We were not allowed to sit, stand, lie, or walk where we pleased. One of the officials seemed especially charged with the duty of bullying Mrs. P. and our party—consisting of Mrs. P., my daughter Alice, my son Harrison Van Buren, and my friend (and I believe I may add future son-in-law), Samuel Q. Short. The rascal dodged us from the time of starting to the time of arrival; sometimes rang a furious bell in my ear, either for tickets or tea; perpetually detected us in wrong places; was discovered by Mrs. P. holding up my son Harrison Van Buren by the seat of his trowsers, and attempted to excuse his brutality by protesting that he had fished him out of the engine-room; and only relented from his merciless persecution when we had all retired for a couple of hours' sleep.

Well, I slept, notwithstanding our sufferings. Harrison V. B. was in the upper berth, I in the lower. I was dreaming (you know the old adage) that the President and Treasurer of the new railroad from Hum to Bug (in which I am, entre nous, a large stockholder) had been smitten with remorse, and were paying back to the Company the sums it had "lent" them, when I was awoke by a sudden shriek—Fire! I am a large man—my cousin Abimelech calls me "fleshy"—but I give you my word it did not take me fifteen seconds to spring out of my berth, dash on my pants, whip H. V. B. out of his shelf, and rush out. I had made my mind up what to do. I would tie Mrs. P. to a spar, with Alice at the other end to balance her; fasten H. V. B. to the middle, and tow them ashore myself, with the aid of Short. I would not allow another human being to cling to the spar. No; a man's first duty is to his own family.

All this, of course, was the work of a second (if I am remarkable for any thing it is for my presence of mind in danger). As soon as I had opened the state-room door, I beheld a scene which beggars description. Every body was afoot in their night-clothes. Every body was screaming and bawling. Some were running one way, some another; a ruffian with a long nose was dashing through the saloon like a cannon-ball, knocking every one down, to no purpose; my daughter Alice was in a dead faint in a corner, with Short vainly trying to rouse her by shouting in her ear; my beloved Betsey (Mrs. P.) I discerned in great distress, a rascally boy having butted her with his head, and being seemingly bent on forcing his way through her; every body seemed beside themselves with terror. Of course I rushed to the rescue of my wife; but having overlooked a stout lady who lay screaming on the floor, I tripped and fell; fortunately my fall came in contact with a soft substance, which I have reason to believe belonged to a young lady whom the man with the nose had knocked down; the next minute I was kicked and shaken by a brute with a mustache, who demanded what I meant by insulting his sister? My next vision was a wet man, with a tarpaulin hat, who swore frightfully, and asked me, with a ferocious expression, what I meant by frightening the passengers? Other men likewise gathered round me, and some proposed that I should be

THE OLD MAN OF THE MOUNTAIN.

GOING UP MOUNT WASHINGTON.

NOTCH OF THE WHITE MOUNTAINS.

Figure 3.22: Theodore R. Davis, *The Adirondack Mountains*, Harper's Weekly, 11/21/1868.

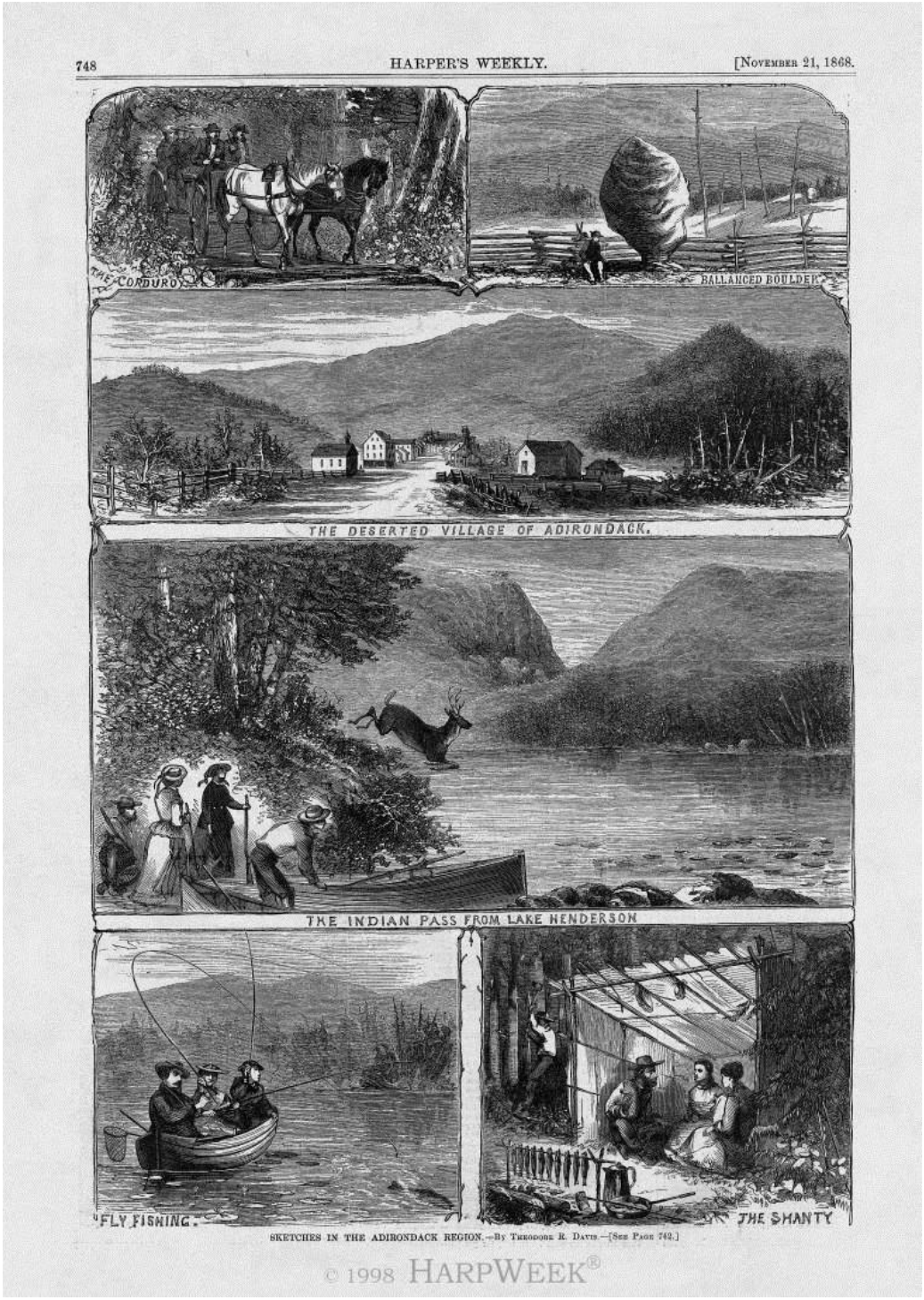


Figure 3.23: Granville Perkins, *Reminiscences of the White Mountains*, Harper's Weekly, 9/8/1877.

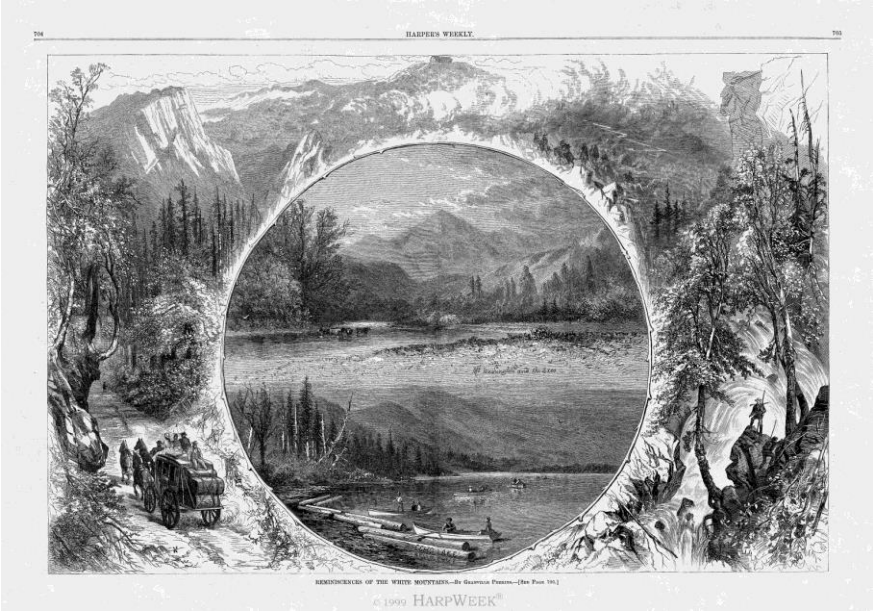


Figure 3.24: Currier and Ives, *Echo Lake – White Mountains*, n.d.

Figure 3.25: Currier and Ives, *The Notch House White Mountains*, n.d.

Figure 3.26: William Preston Phelps, *Mount Monadnock*, 1900.

Figure 3.27: *Monadnock Mt. From Sargent Girls Camp*, 1912.

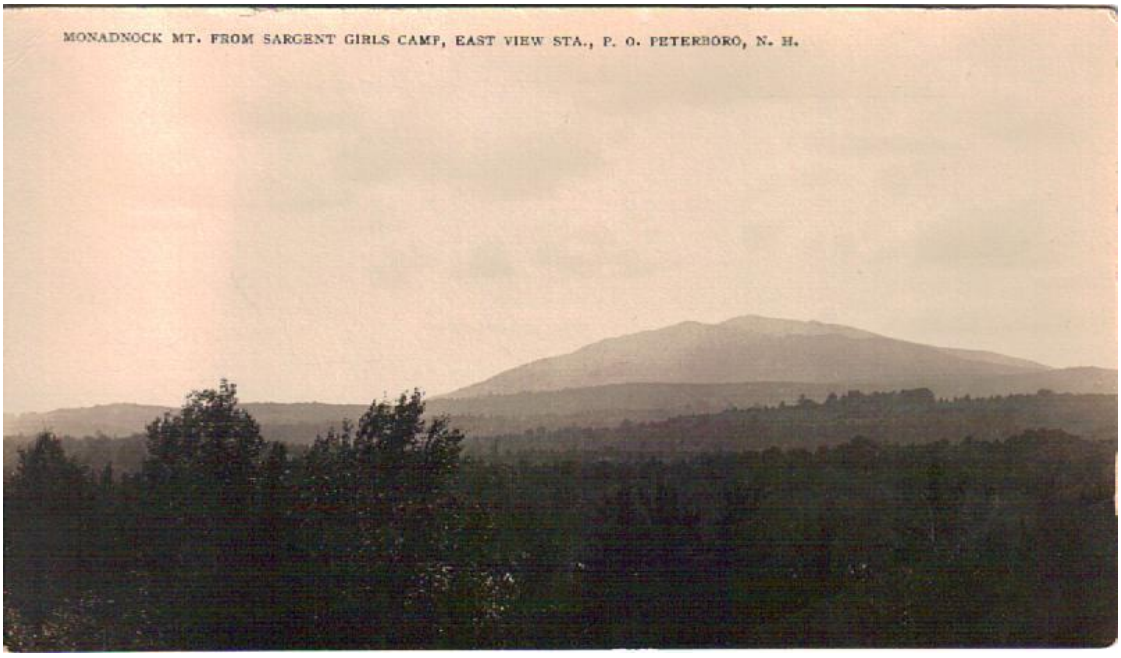


Figure 3.28: *Monadnock Mountain from Sargent Camp*, 1912.

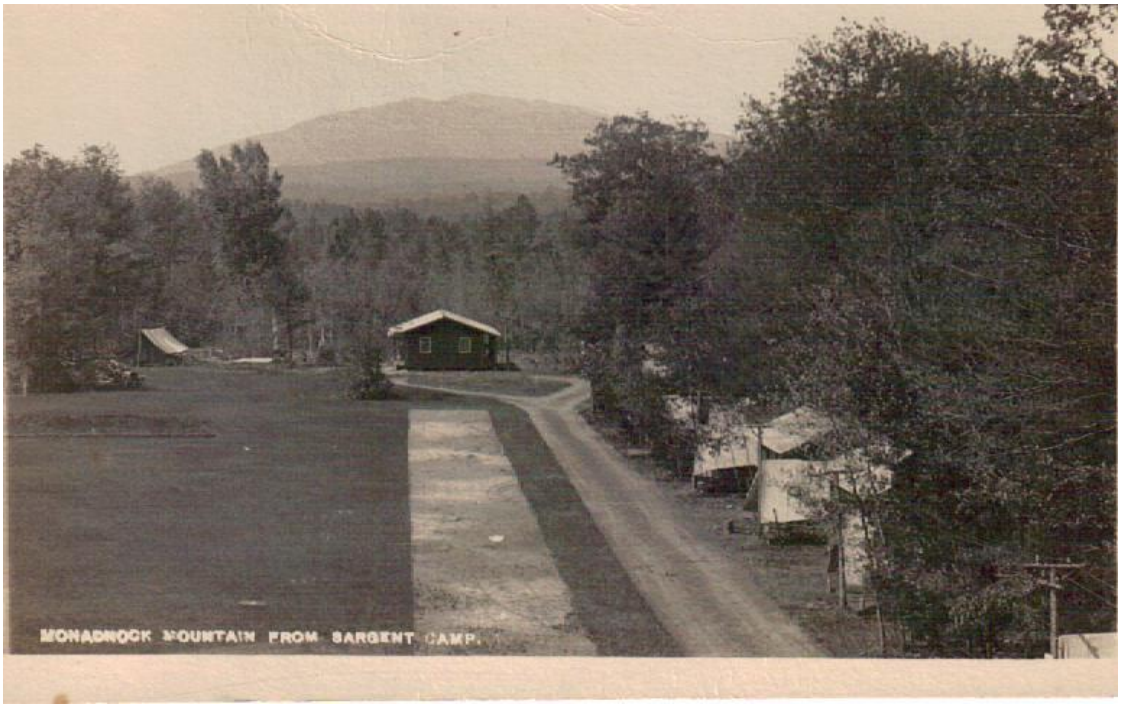


Figure 3.29: *Half Moon Pond, Hancock, NH*, 1912.

Figure 3.30: *Drive along Half Moon Lake, Sargent Camp, n.d.*

Figure 3.31: *Road near Sargent School Girls Camp, N.H.*, n.d.

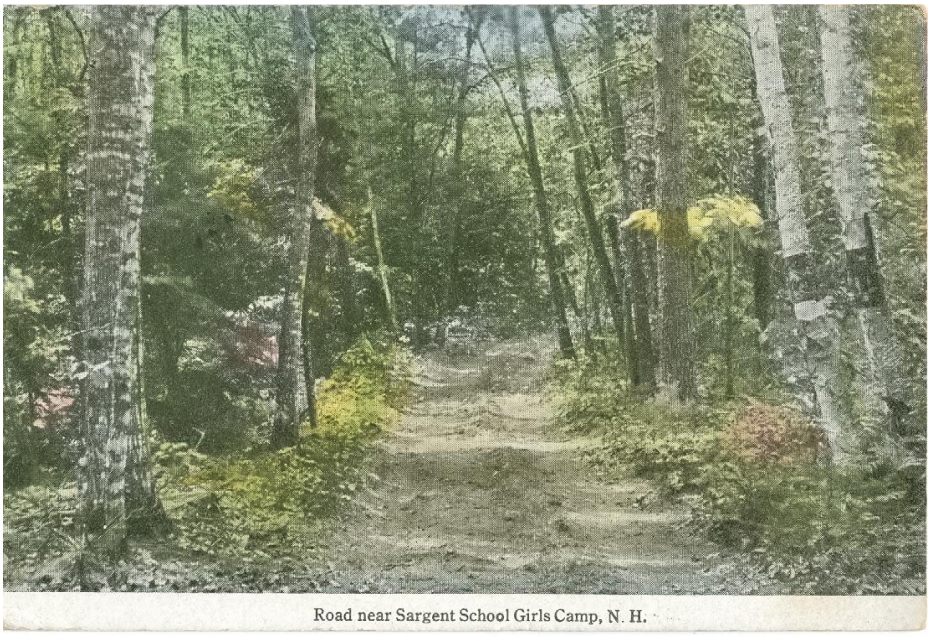


Figure 3.32: Asher B. Durand, *The Beeches*, 1845.

Figure 3.33: *Sailing on Half Moon Lake, Boston University, Sargent Camp*, 1930's.

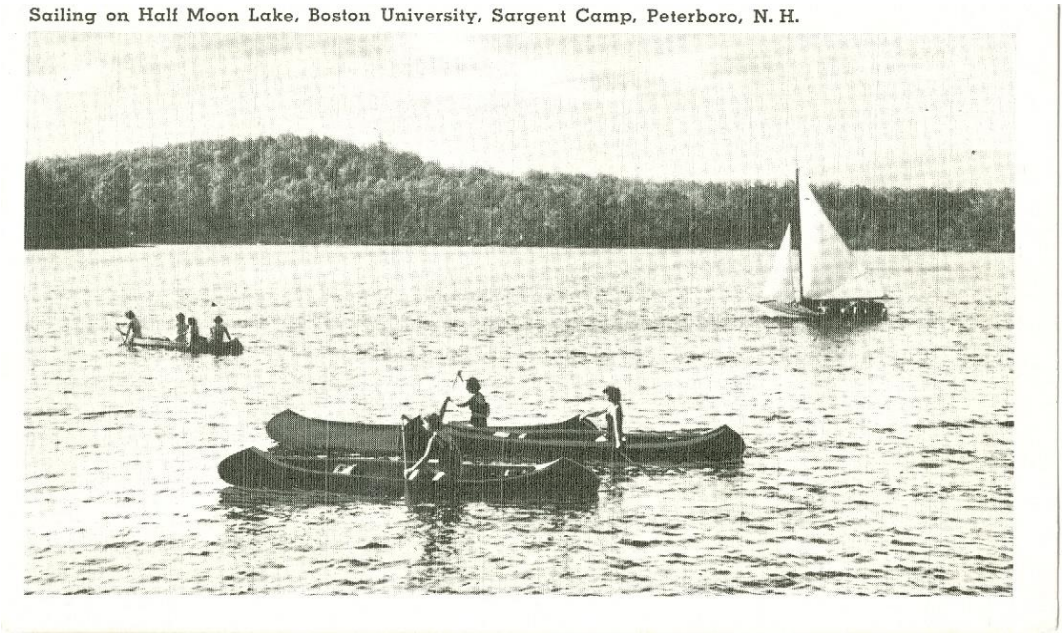


Figure 3.34: Benjamin Champney, *Crawford Notch with Mount Webster, Elephant's Head and Saco Lake*, 1877.

Figure 3.35: *The Boat House, Sargent Camp*, 1912.

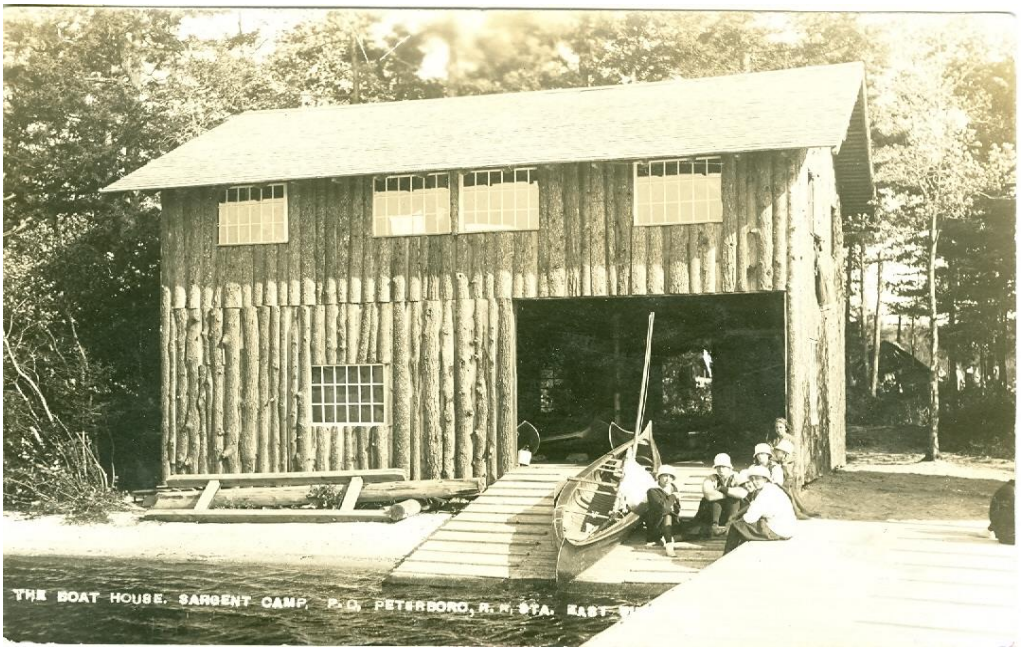


Figure 3.36: Currier and Ives, *The Hunter's Shanty in the Adirondacks*, n.d.

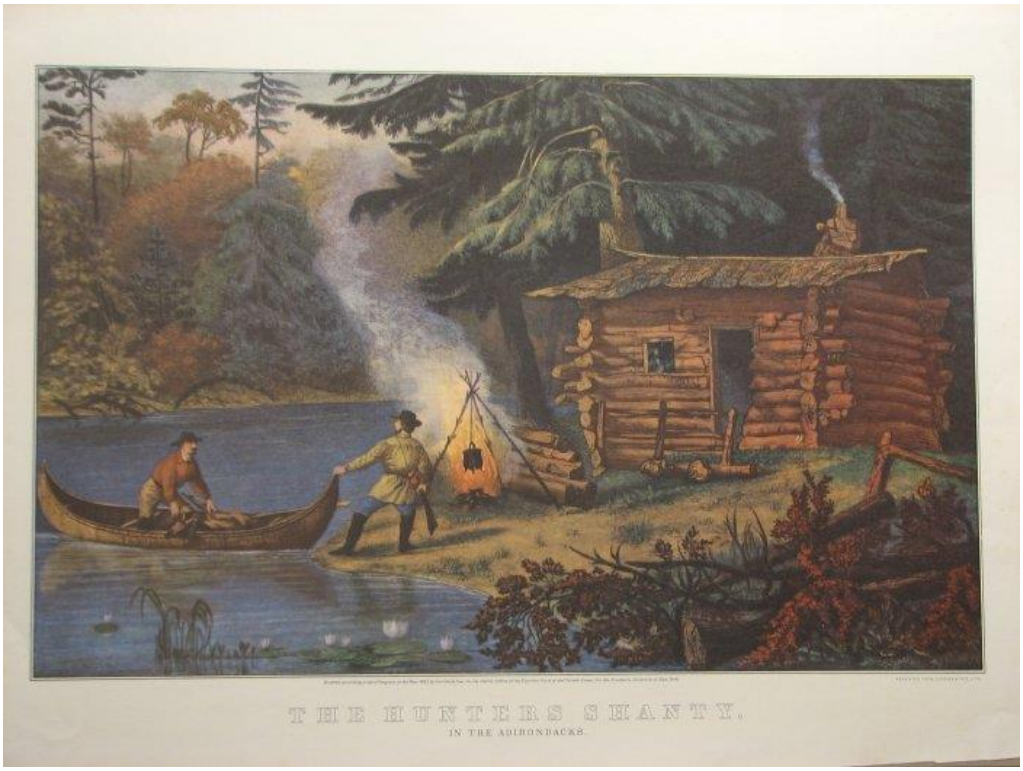


Figure 3.37: *Sargent Camp (Girls Tent)*, 1912.

Figure 3.38: Winslow Homer, *Camping Out in the Adirondack Mountains*, Harper's Weekly, 11/07/1874.

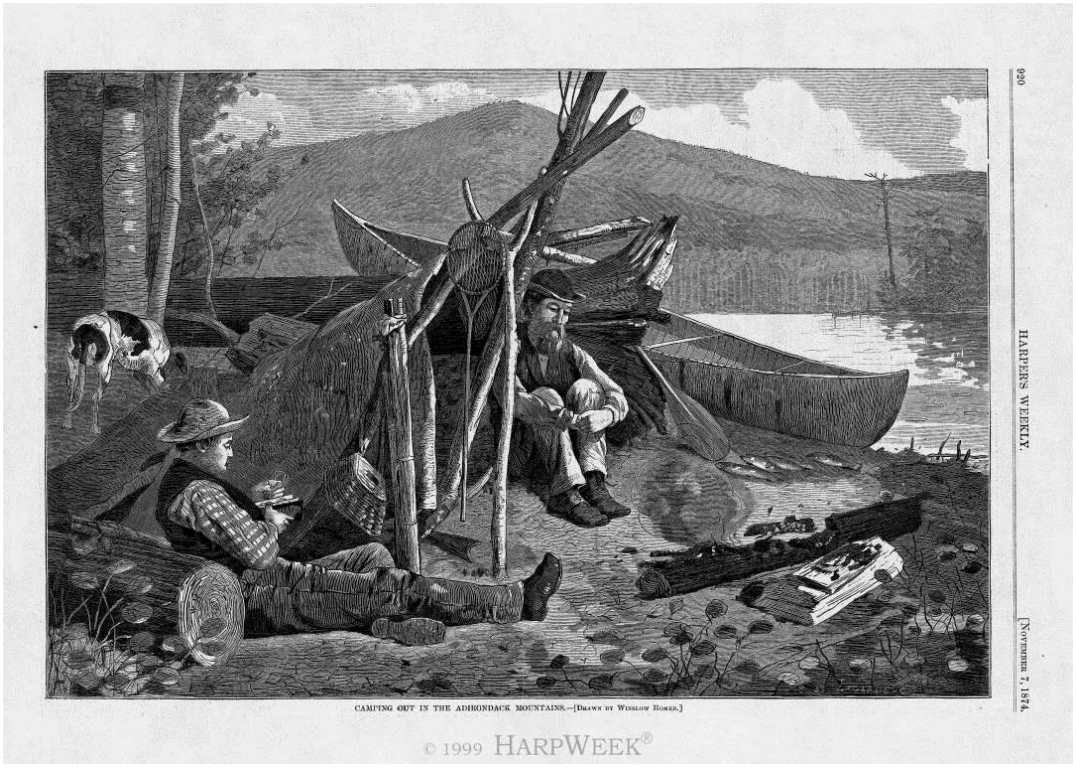


Figure 3.39: Cover of Sargent Camp for Girls brochure, 1921.

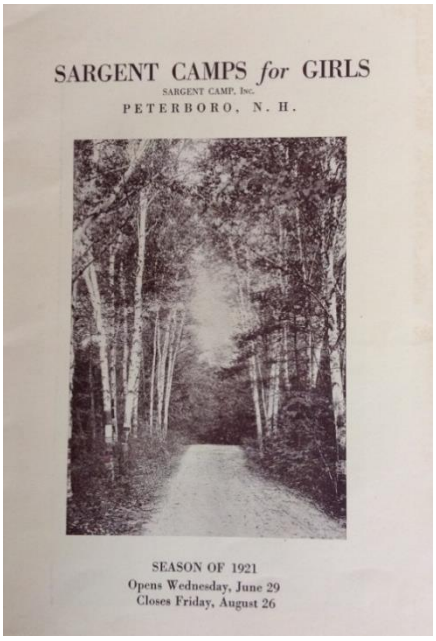


Figure 3.40: Location layout, 1923 Sargent Camp brochure, 1923.

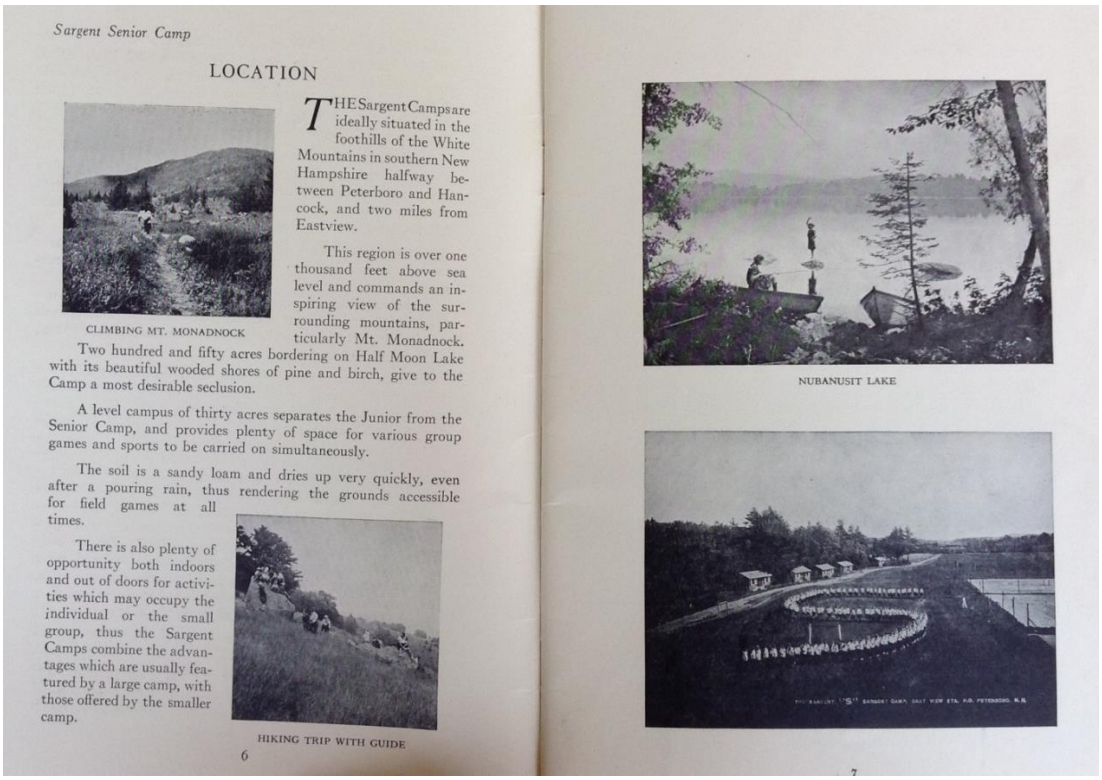


Figure 3.41: Landscapes, 1923 Sargent Camp Brochure, 1923.

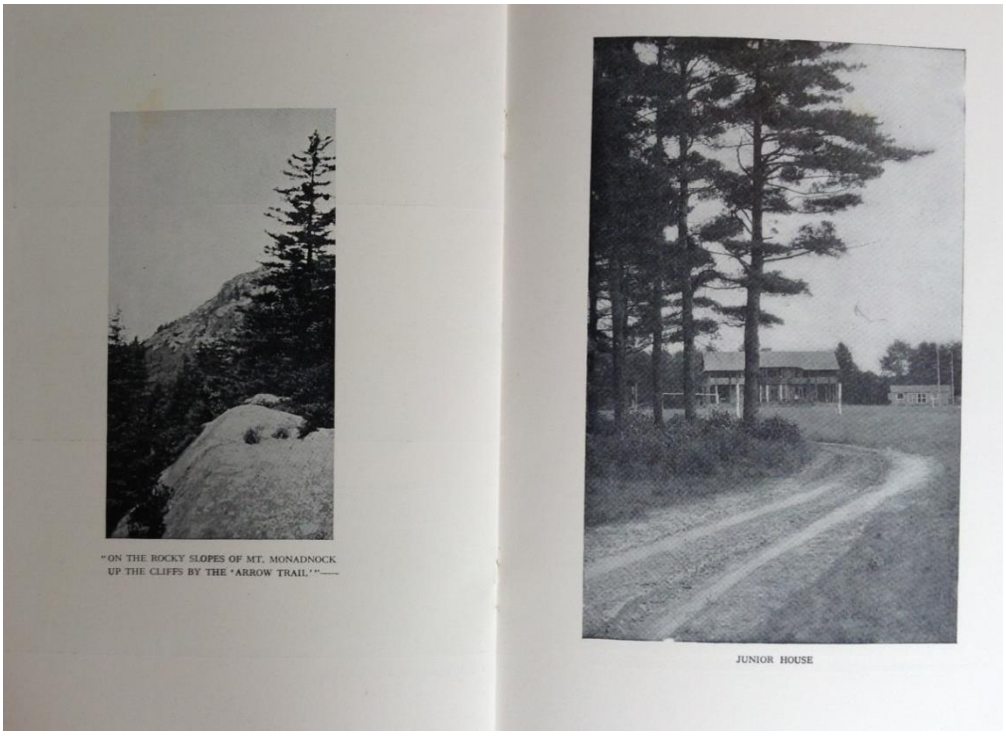


Figure 3.42: Landscapes, 1923 Sargent Camp Brochure, 1923.

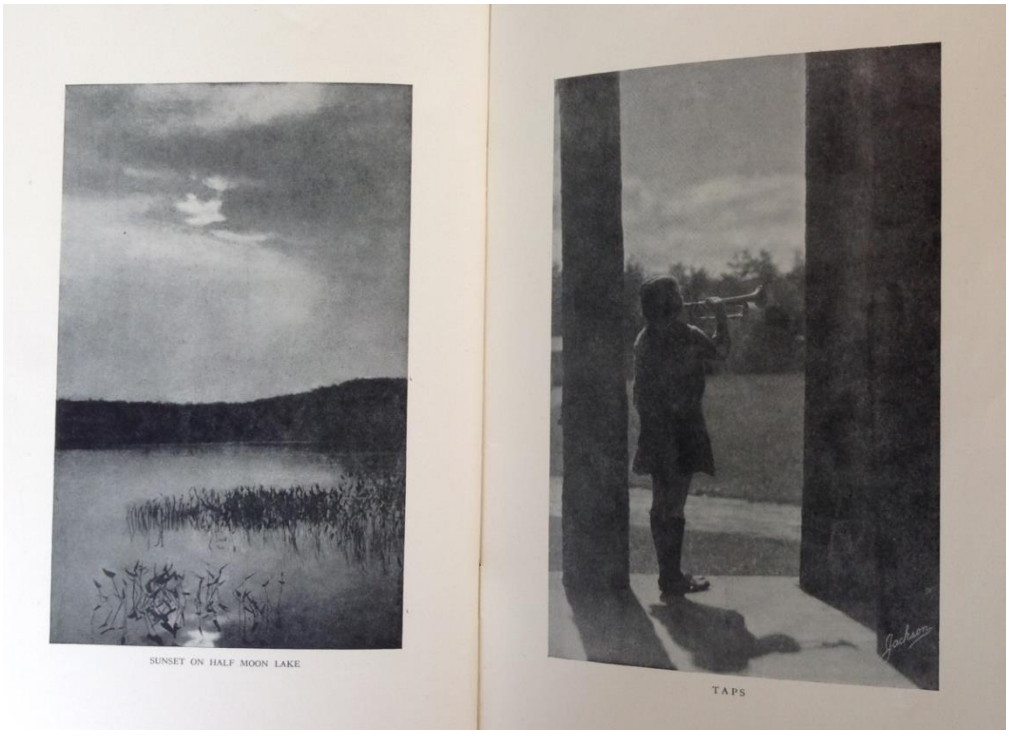


Figure 3.43: *Hiking, Sargent Camp*, 1912.

Figure 3.44: *Riding at Sargent Girls Camp*, 1912.

Figure 3.45: 1927 Sargent Camp Brochure, cover. 1927.

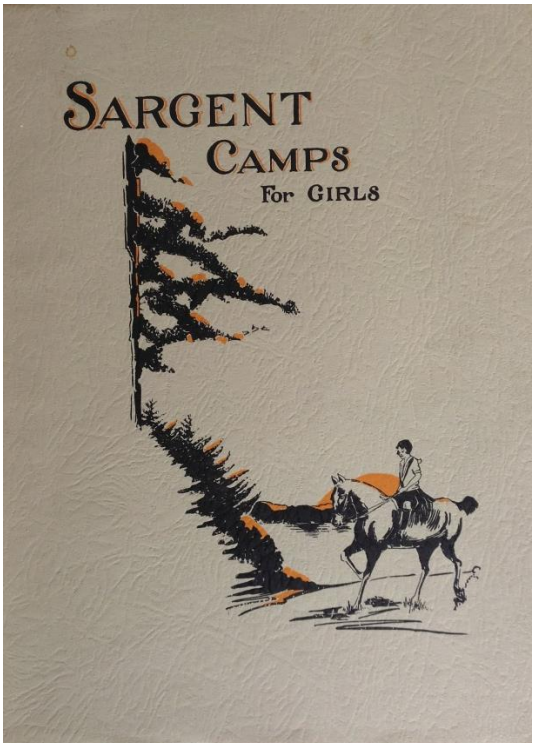


Figure 3.46: 1929 Sargent Camp Brochure, cover. 1929.

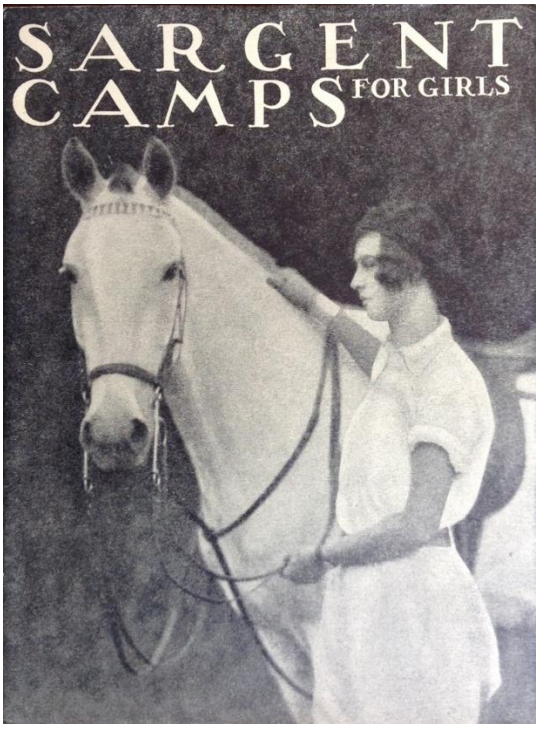


Figure 3.47: 1932 Sargent Camp Brochure, cover. 1932.

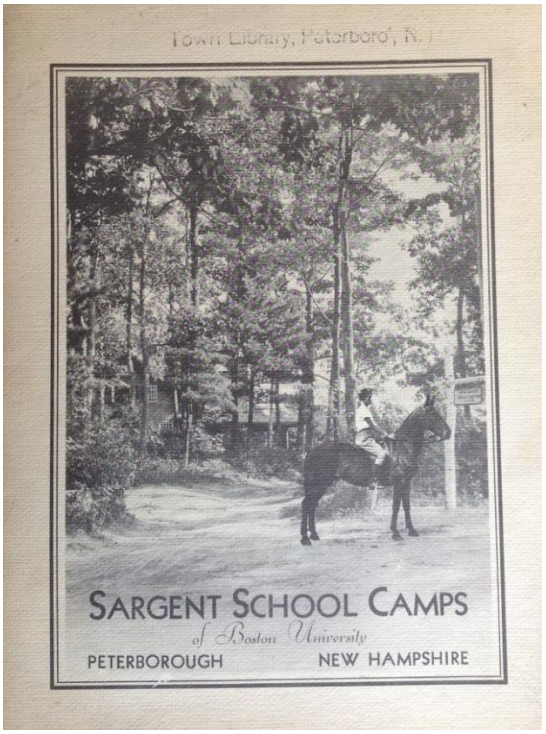


Figure 3.48: 1932 Sargent Camp Brochure, 1932.

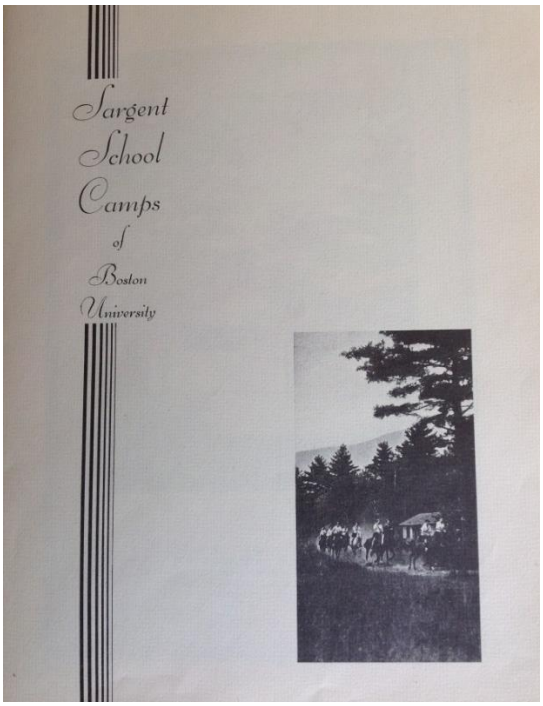


Figure 3.49: 1932 Sargent Camp Brochure, riding page layout, 1932.

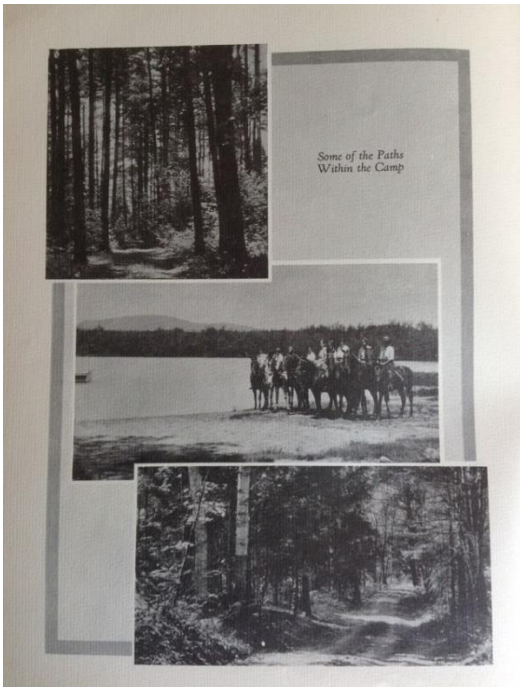


Figure 3.50: Canoeing on Half Moon Lake, 1923 Sargent Camp Brochure, 1923.

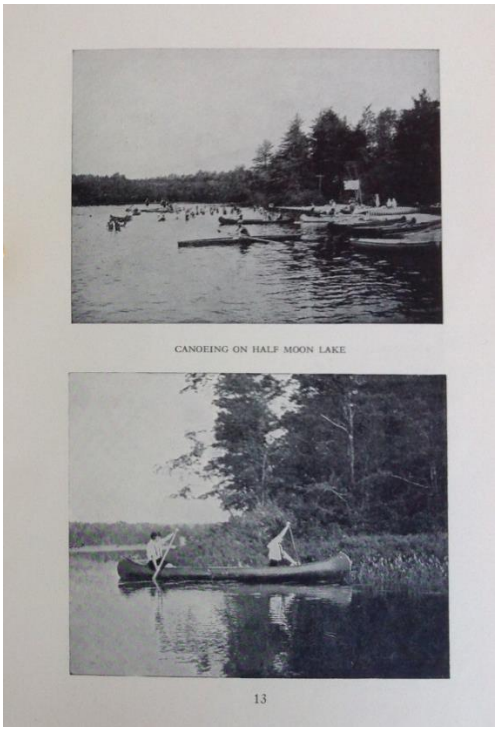


Figure 3.51: Overnight Hiking Parties to Long Pond, 1923 Sargent Camp Brochure, 1923.

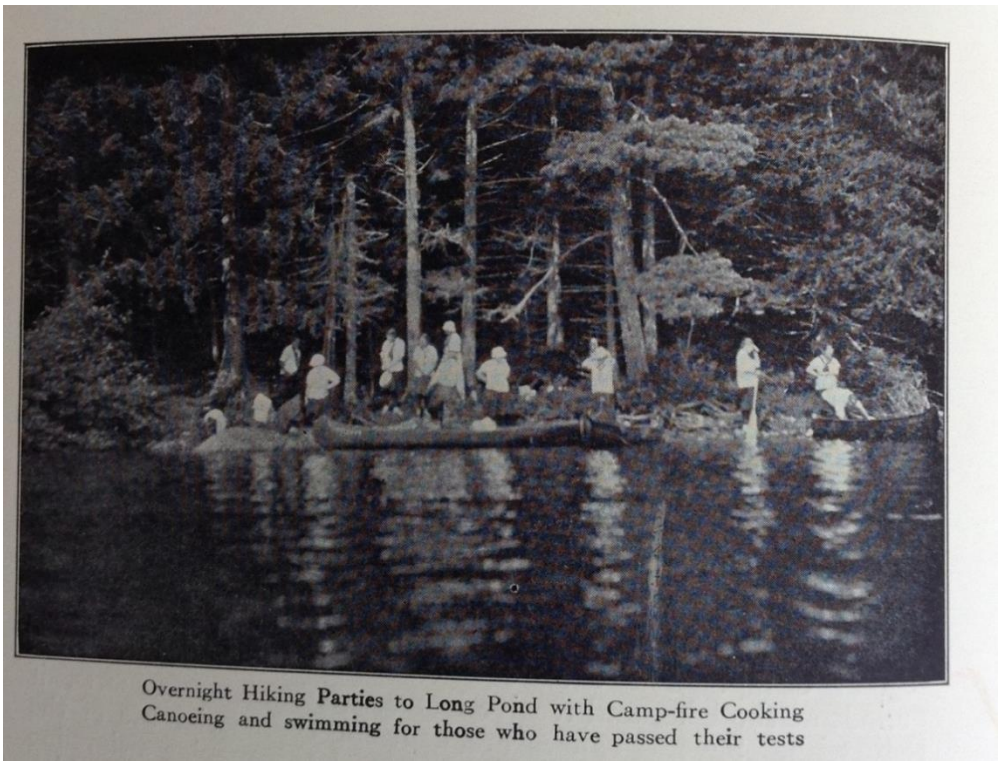


Figure 3.52: From *The Book of the Camp Fire Girls*, 1914.

Figure 3.53: From *The Book of the Camp Fire Girls*, 1914.

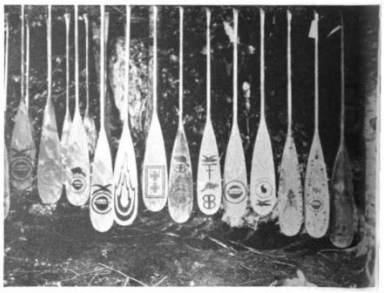
The Blue Bird crew in a sponson

Off for the early morning crew practice

Blue Birds playing in the sand

Figure 3.54: From *The Book of the Camp Fire Girls*, 1914.

Painting symbols on paddle and making symbolic headbands



Paddles with Camp Fire symbols

Chapter 4 Images

Figure 4.1: Eastman Johnson, *Barefoot Boy*, 1860.

Figure 4.2: Eastman Johnson, *Barefoot Boy*, from *Folk Songs*, 1860.

Figure 4.3: Winslow Homer, *Boys in a Pasture*, 1874.

Figure 4.4: Eastman Johnson, *The Old Stagecoach*, 1871.

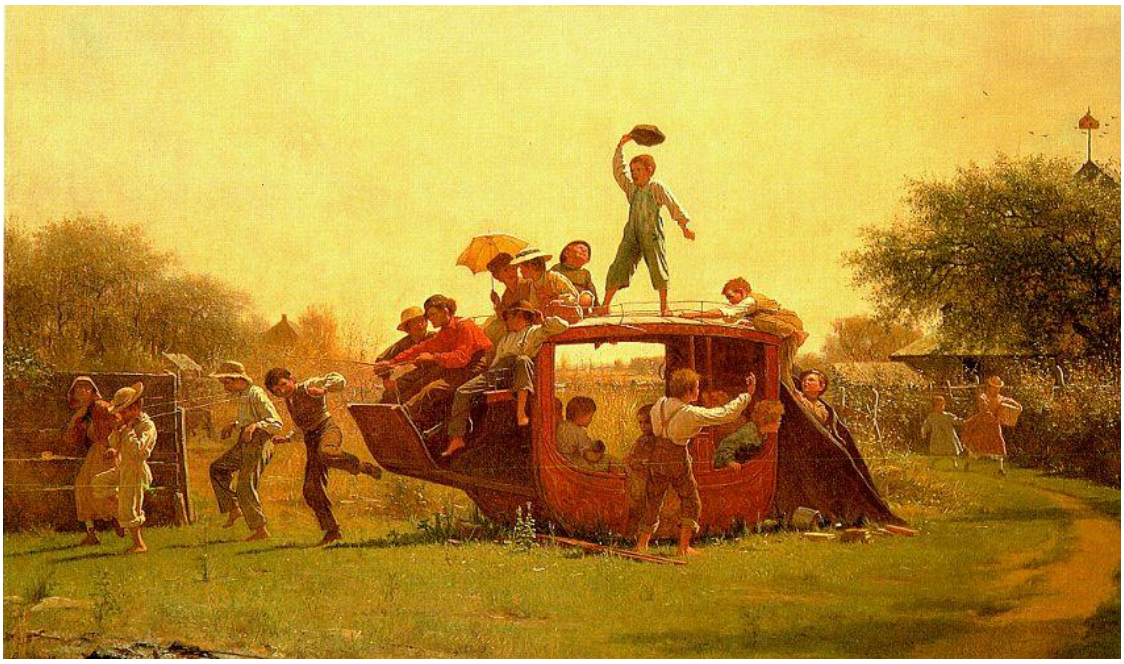


Figure 4.5: John George Brown, *The Berry Boy*, 1875.

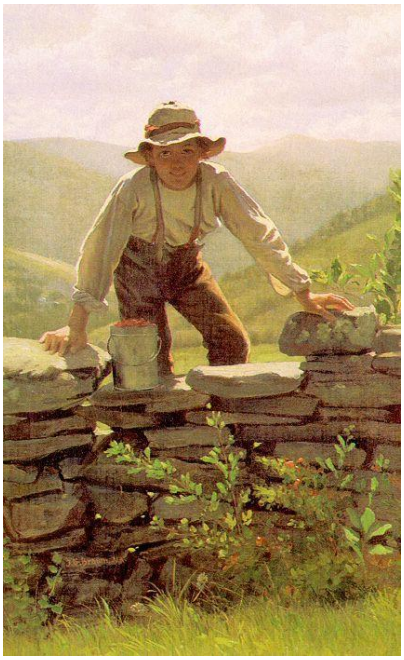


Figure 4.6: John George Brown, *Blackberry Picking*, 1875.

Figure 4.7: Winslow Homer, *On the Road to Lake George*, Appleton's Journal of Literature, Science, and Art, 7/21/1869.

Figure 4.8: John Rogers, *We Boys (head down)*, 1872.

Figure 4.9: John Rogers, *Fetching the Doctor*, 1881.

Figure 4.10: Winslow Homer, *Snap the Whip*, 1872.

Figure 4.11: “Dinner Bell Has Rung,” Sargent Camps for Girls brochure, 1921.

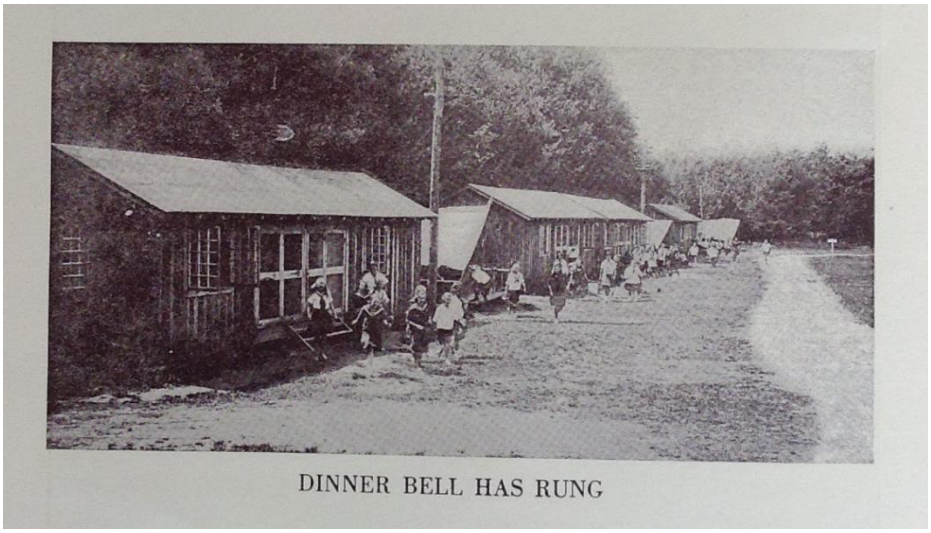


Figure 4.12: Sargent Camps for Girls brochure, 1923.

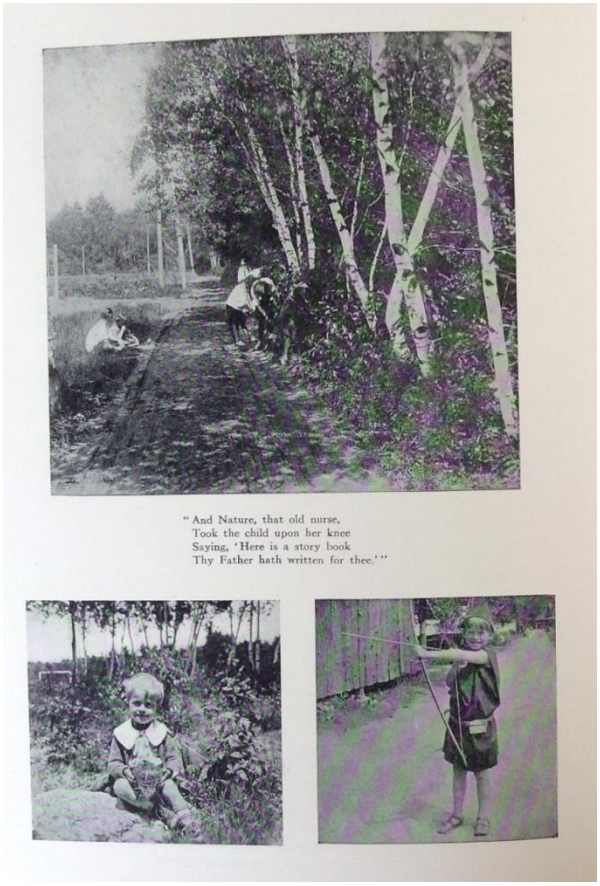


Figure 4.13: *Wood Working, Sargent Junior Camp*, Post card, 1916.

Figure 4.14: David Gilmour Blythe, *The Newsboys*, c1850.

Figure 4.15: David Gilmour Blythe, *Street Urchins,* 1856.

Figure 4.16: David Gilmour Blythe, *Post Office,* 1865.

Figure 4.17: John George Brown, *The Juggler*, 1882.

Figure 4.18: John George Brown, *Daydreaming (The Shoe Shine Boy)*, 1885.

Figure 4.19: John George Brown, *Shine, Sir?*, 1885.

Figure 4.20: John George Brown, *News Boy*, 1889.

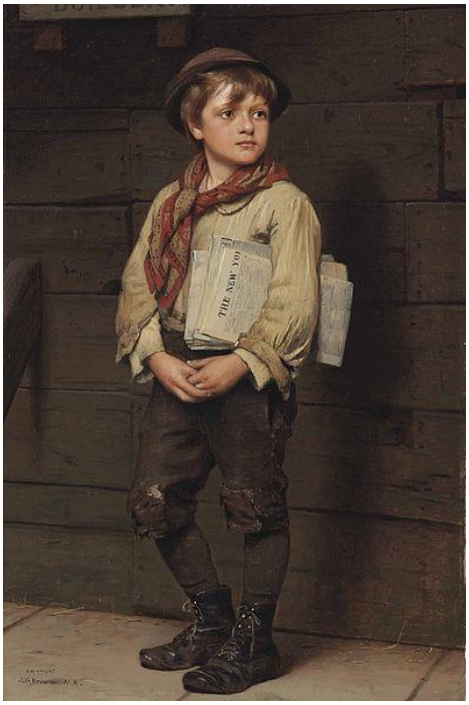


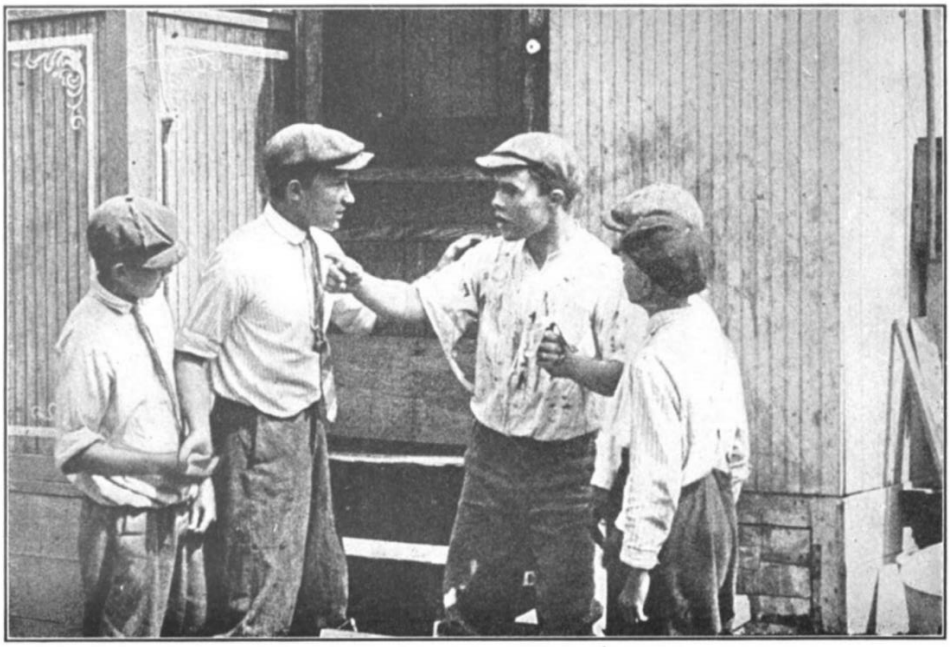
Figure 4.21: John George Brown, *Jersey Mud*, 1890.

Figure 4.22: John George Brown, *All Right*, 1897.

Figure 4.23: John George Brown, *Tuckered Out*, 1888.

Figure 4.24: Jacob Riis, *Children Sleeping in Mulberry Street*, 1890.

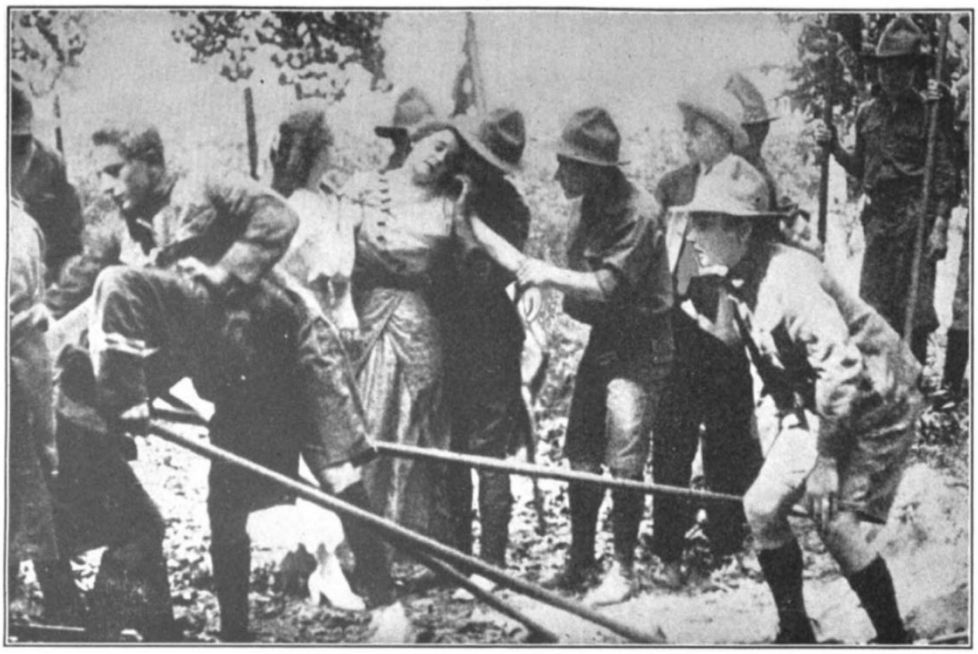
Figure 4.25: Still from *Adventures of a Boy Scout*, 1915.



"I SWIPED TWO O' THIM QUARANTINE SIGNS OFFEN TWO DOORS."

Frontispiece (Page 20)

Figure 4.26: Still from *Adventures of a Boy Scout*, 1915.



MRS. TEMPLE WAS TOO WEAK TO WALK AND THE BOYS IMPROVISED A LITTER FOR HER.

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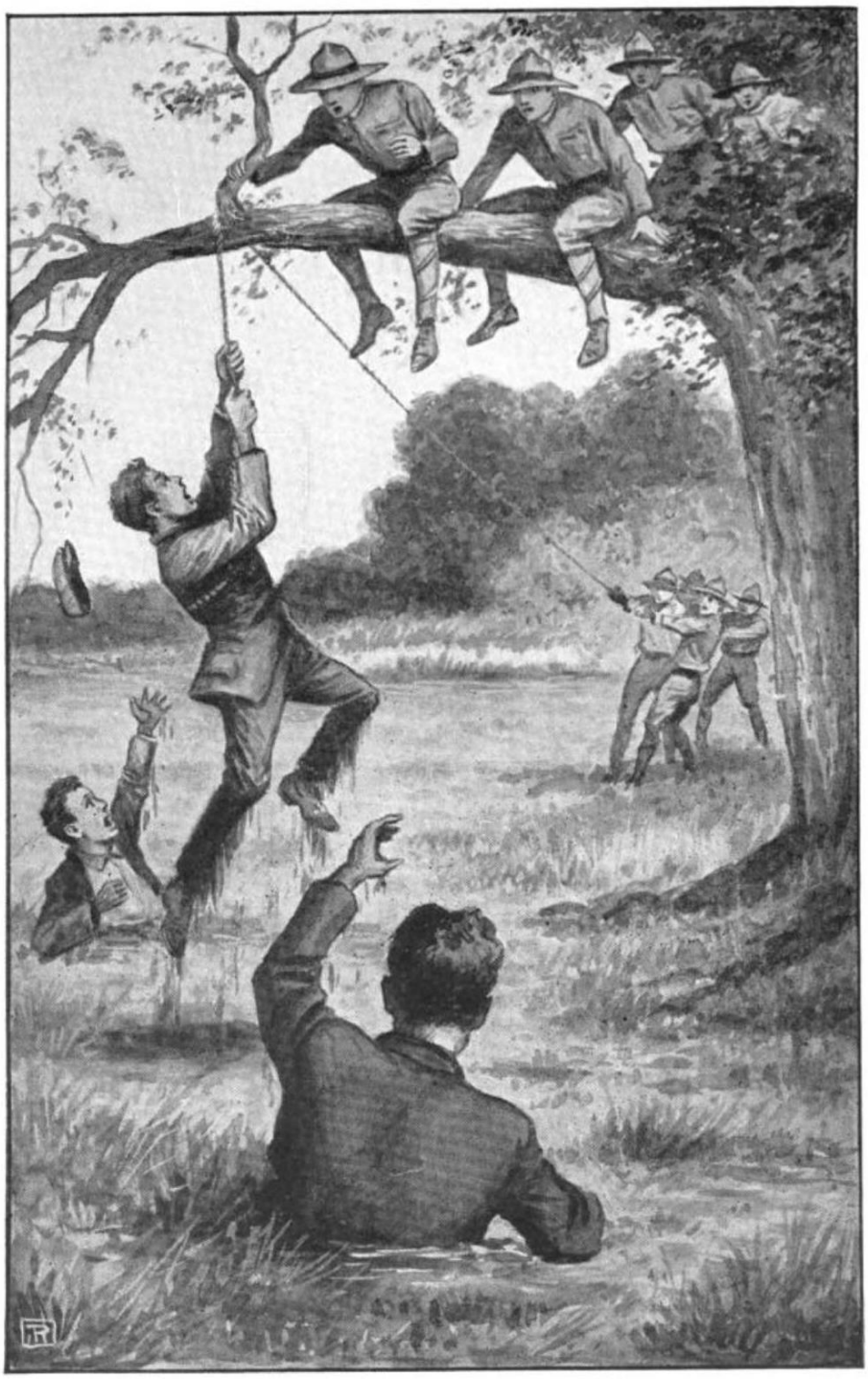
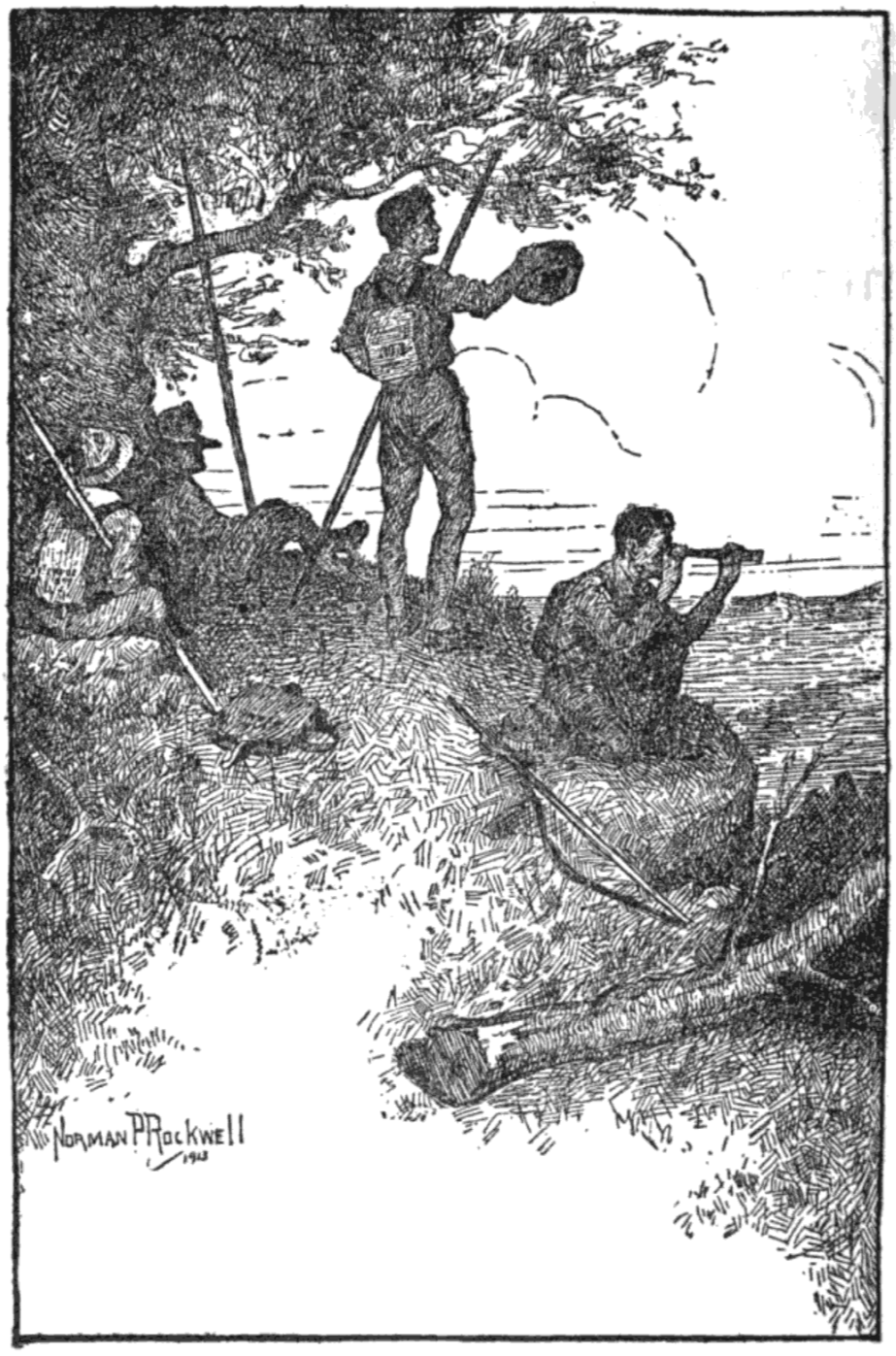
Figure 4.27: Image from *The Boy Scouts of Lenox*, 1915.



THEY HOISTED HIM TO THE LIMB, WHERE HE CLUNG WATCHING THE NEXT RESCUE.

The Boy Scouts of Lenox. *Page 202.*

Figure 4.28: Norman Rockwell, *Touching a High Spot*, 1913.



TOUCHING A HIGH SPOT

The turning point of a New Jersey troop's "fourteen-mile hike"

Chapter 5 Images

Figure 5.1: Christopher Pearse Cranch, *Sunset Landscape*, n.d.

Chapter 6 Images

Figure 6.1: Birds Eye View of Boston Harbor, 1920. *Library of Congress*. – Thompson Island is labeled just right of center.

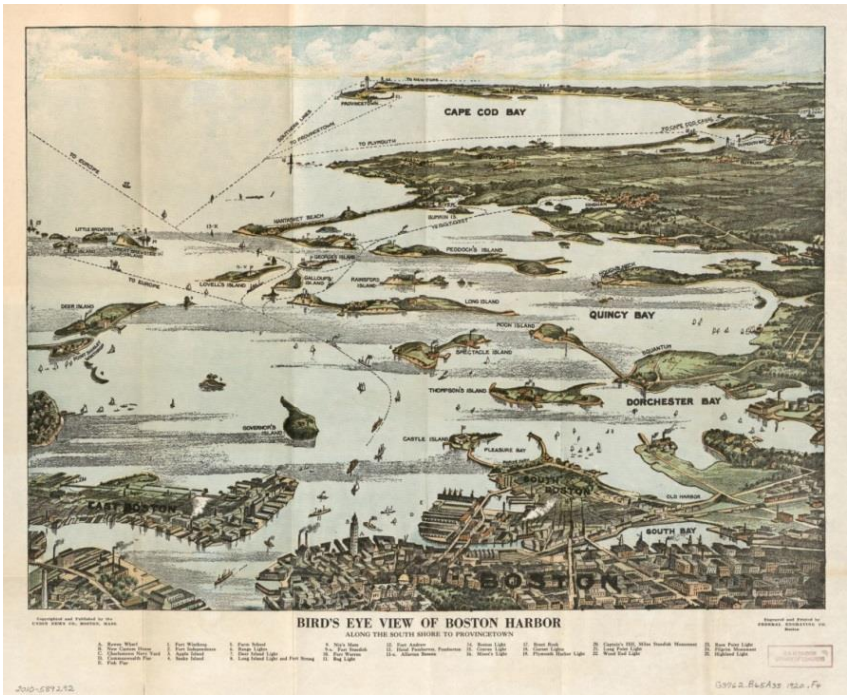


Figure 6.2: Boston Farm School Marching Band, 1850s.

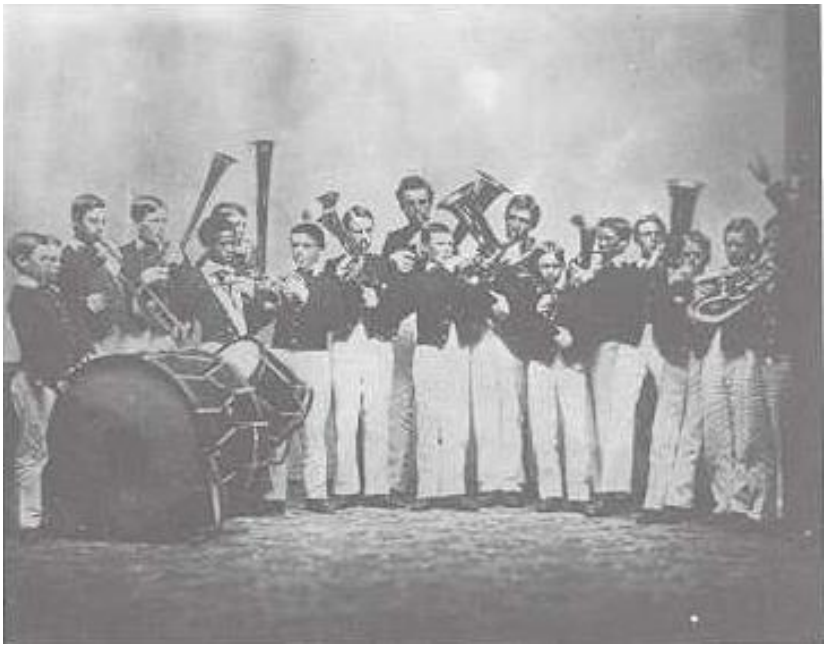


Figure 6.3: Boston Farm and Trade School Weather Station, 1905.

Figure 6.4: Cottage Row, late 1800s.

Figure 6.5: Plan of Charles Bank, 1892. *Library of Congress.*

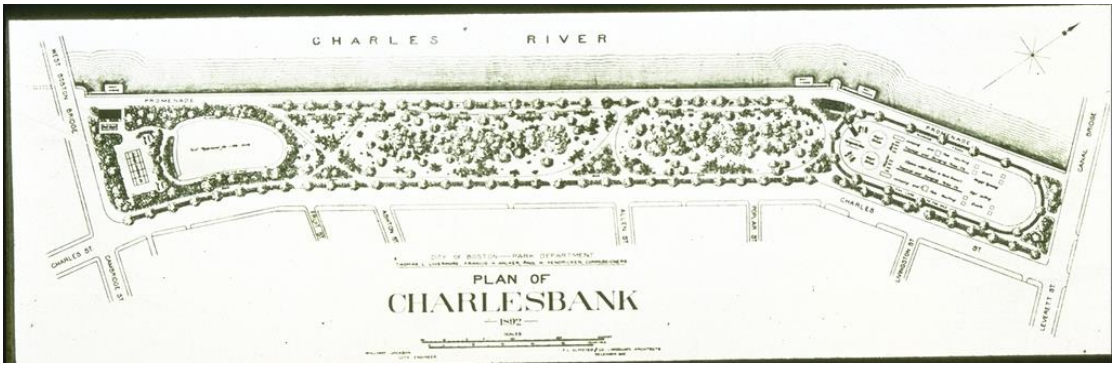


Figure 6.6: Charlesbank Playground, Aerial view (girls playground), *Library of Congress.*

Figure 6.7: Women's Outdoor Gymnasium, *Library of Congress.*

Figure 6.8: Charlesbank Playground, *Library of Congress.*

Figure 6.9: Charlesbank, Bridge Building *Library of Congress.*

Figure 6.10: Charlesbank, Men's Gymnasium *Library of Congress.*

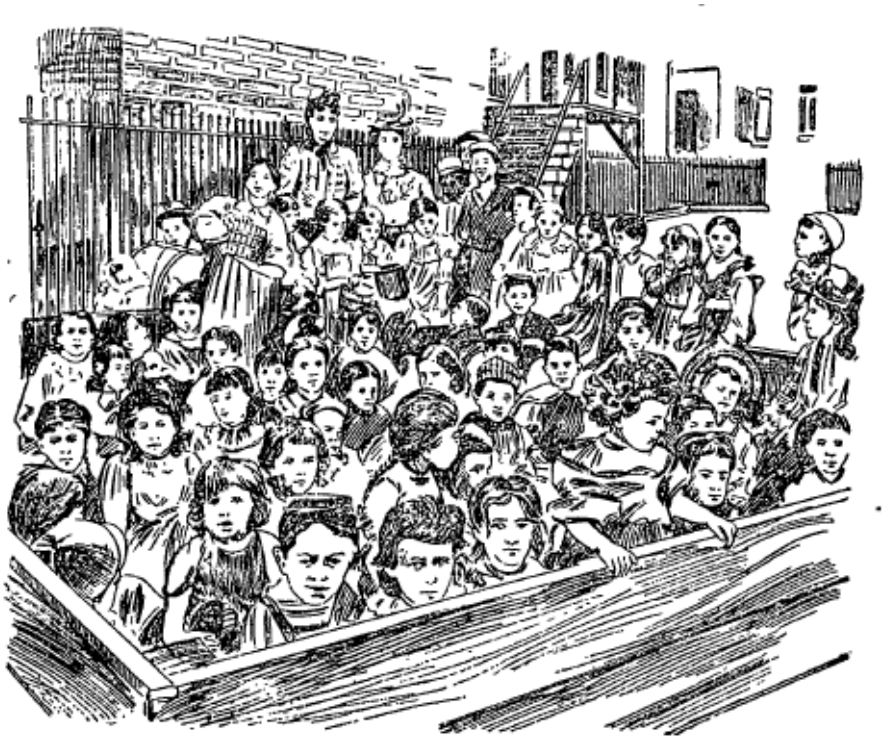
Figure 6.11: Charlesbank Promenade *Library of Congress.*

Figure 6.12: Charlesbank, Children Exercising *Library of Congress.*

Figure 6.13: In the Sandbox, *Boston Globe*, August 14, 1891.

IN THE SAND GARDENS.

Figure 6.14: Sand Gardens at the North End, *Boston Globe*, August 5, 1898.



SAND GARDEN AT THE NORTH END.

Figure 6.15: *Sargent Junior Camp, Playground*, mini-postcard, 1916.

Chapter 7 Images

Figure 7.1: The Bivouac Fire, *Harper's Weekly*, October 5, 1861.

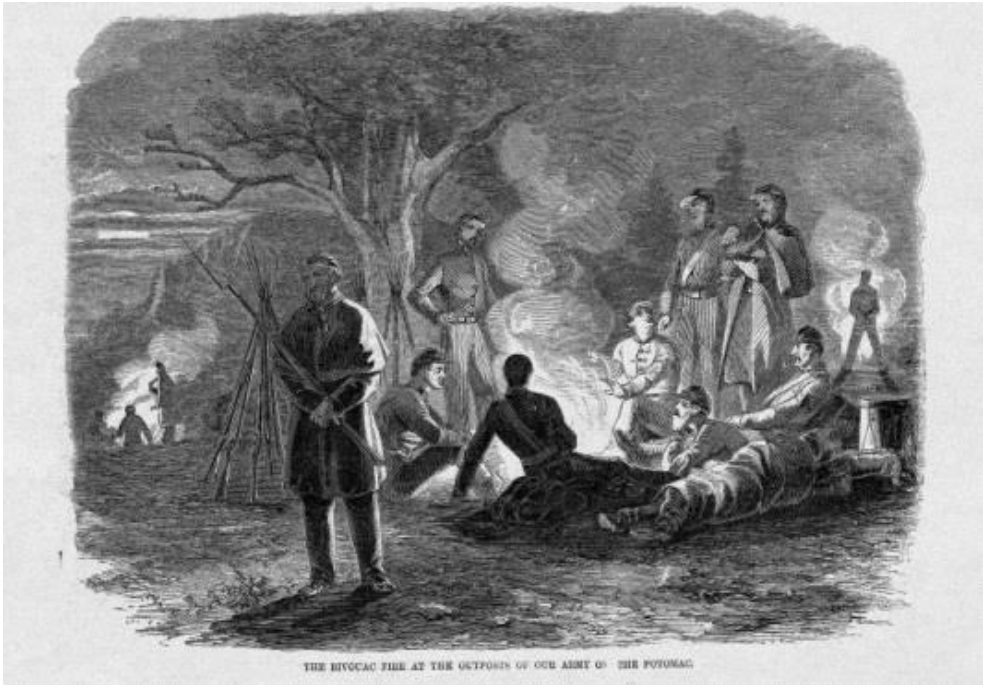


Figure 7.2: The Soldier's Dream, *Harper's Weekly*, November 7, 1863.

Figure 7.3: *Reconnaissance in Force by General Grant,* From Frank Leslie's Illustrated Famous Leaders and Battle Scenes of the Civil War.

Figure 7.4: Scene at Camp after Evening Parade, *Harper's Weekly*, November 2, 1861.

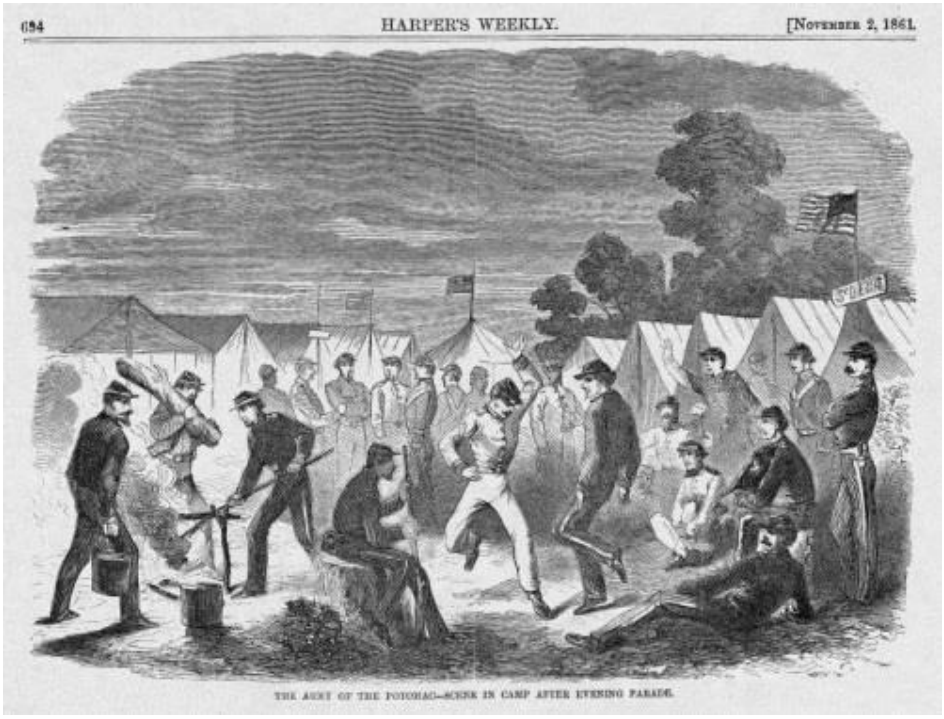


Figure 7.5: Army of the Potomac in Huts, From *Harper's Weekly*, January 17, 1863.

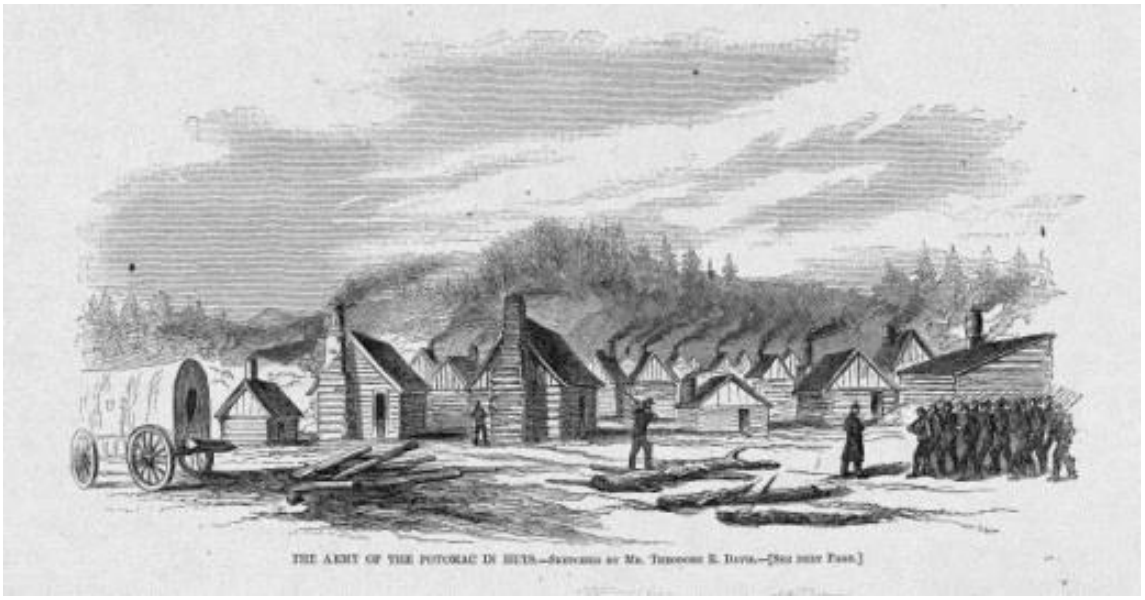


Figure 7.6: Winter Quarters in Camp, *Harper's Weekly*, January 24, 1863.

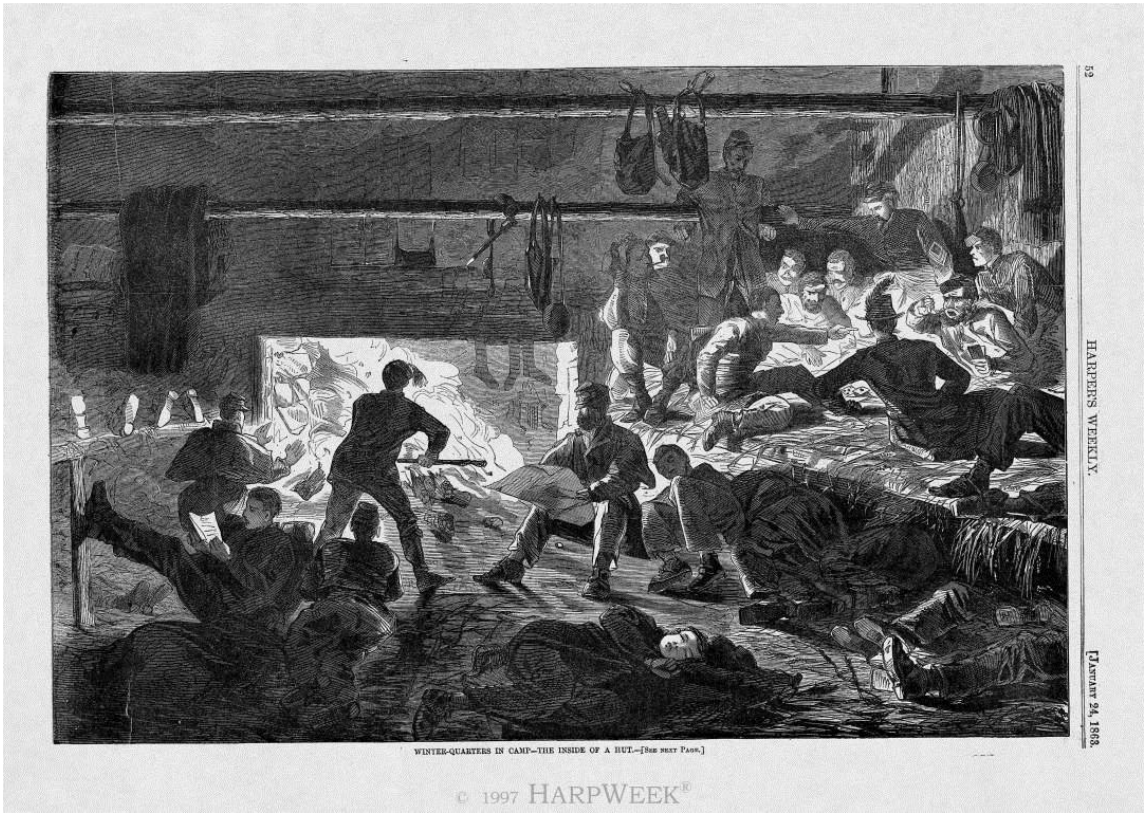


Figure 7.7: The Stag Dance, From *Harper's Weekly*, February 6, 1864.

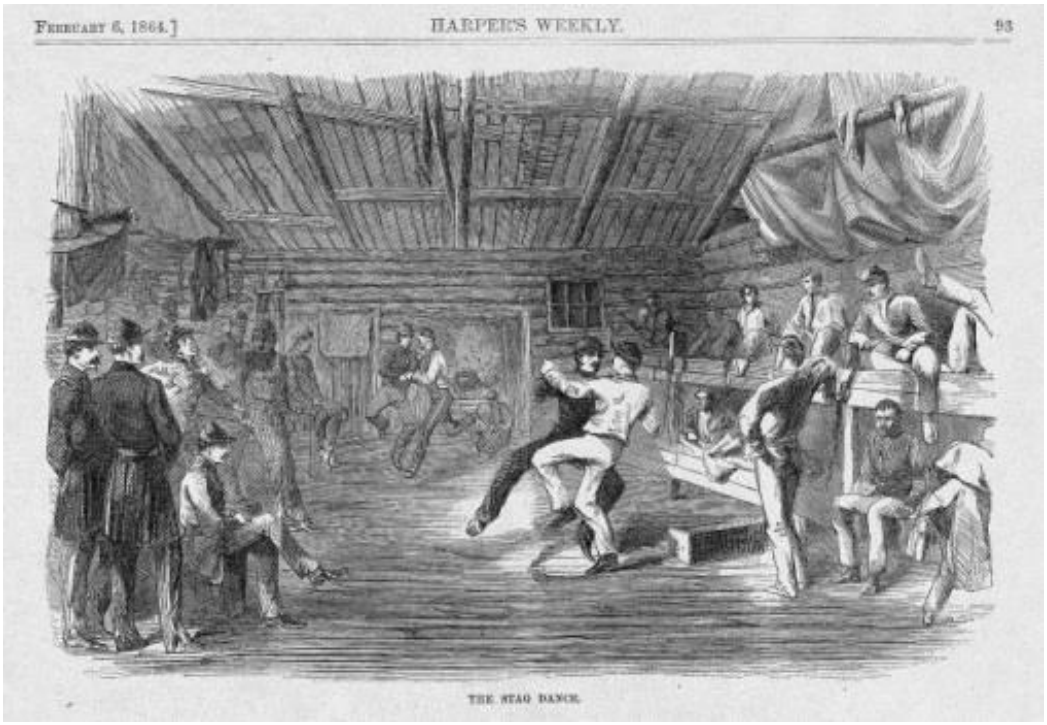


Figure 7.8: The First Maryland Regiment Playing Football Before Evening Parade, From *Harper's Weekly*, August 31,1861.

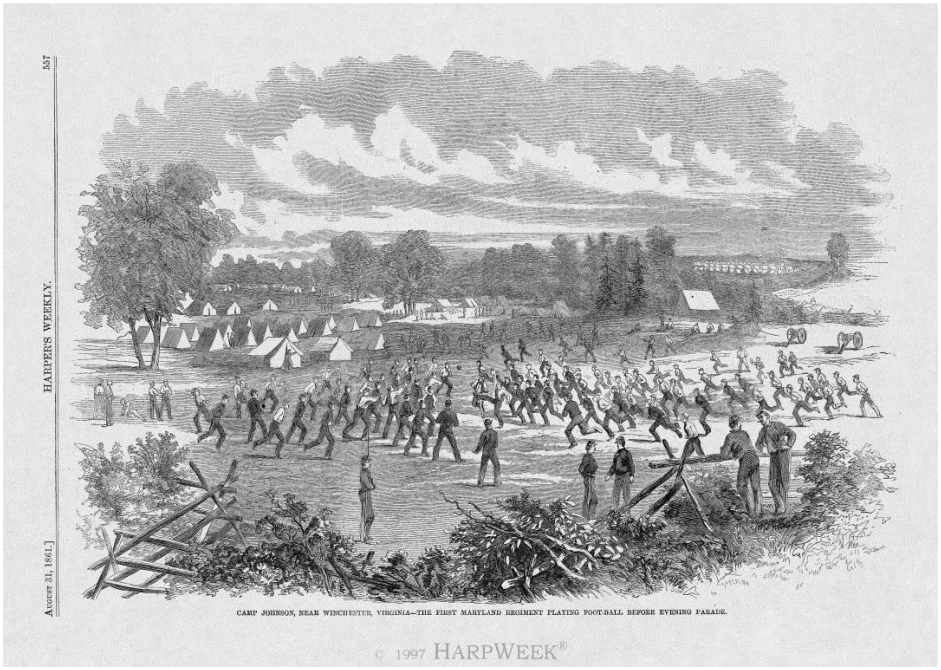


Figure 7.9: Camp of the Ninth Massachusetts, Frank Leslie's Illustrated Famous Leaders and Battle Scenes of the Civil War.

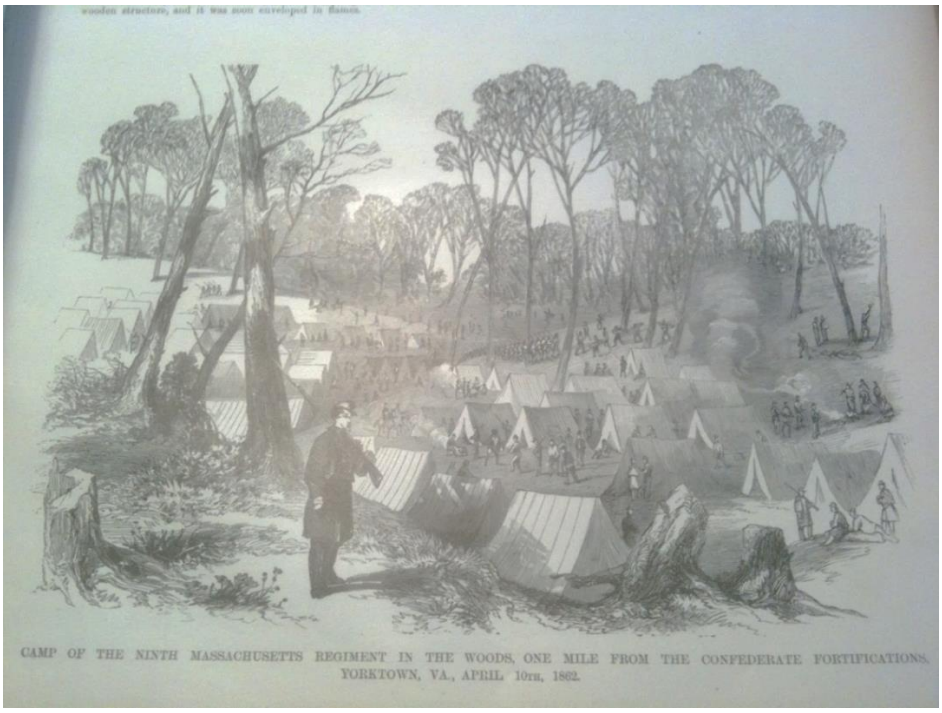


Figure 7.10: Winslow Homer, *A Bivouac Fire on the Potomac*, Harper's Weekly, 12/21/1861.

Figure 7.11: William H. Hayward, *Camp Songs for the Soldiers*, 1864. Library of Congress.

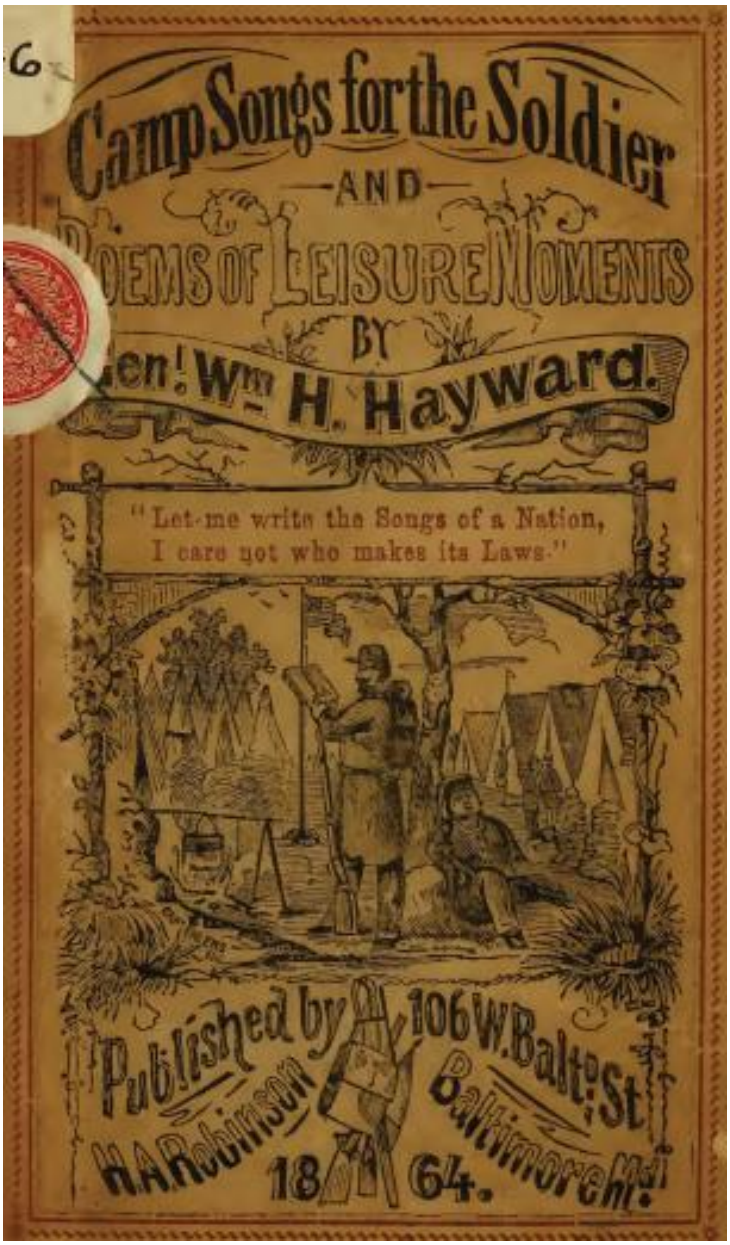


Figure 7.12: *Tenting on the Old Camp Ground*, sheet music, 1864. Library of Congress

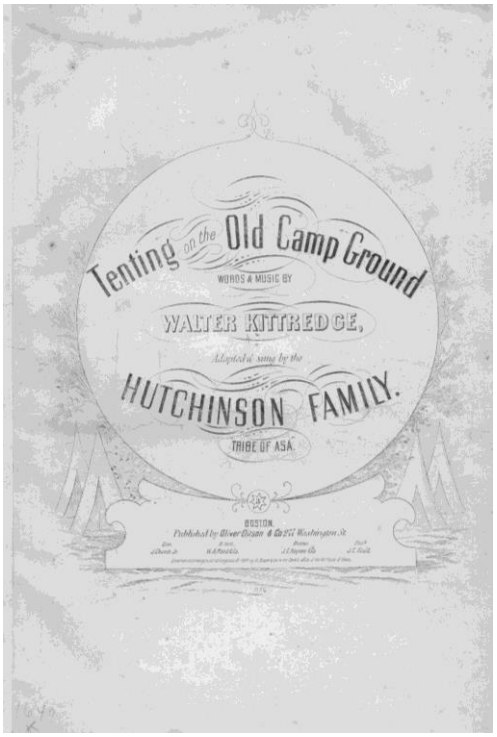


Figure 7.13: *Tenting to Night on the Old Camp Ground*, sheet music, 1890. Library of Congress.

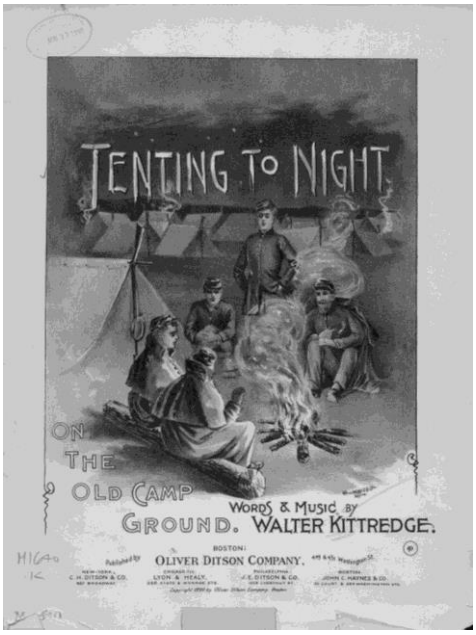


Figure 7.14: *The Eleventh 'ndiana Zouaves in Camp McGinnis*, Frank Leslie's Illustrated Famous Leaders and Battle Scenes of the Civil War.

Figure 7.15: *Camp Zagonyi – Encampment of Fremont's Army on the Prairie, From* Frank Leslie's Illustrated Famous Leaders and Battle Scenes of the Civil War.

Figure 7.16: *Camp Life in the West*, Frank Leslie's Illustrated Famous Leaders and Battle Scenes of the Civil War.

Figure 7.17: G. S. Barkentam, Hartford (CT) YMCA Mantlepiece, 1892. (Now located at YMCA Camp Jewell, Colebrook, CT.)

Figure 7.18: Canteen and Haversack, 1893.

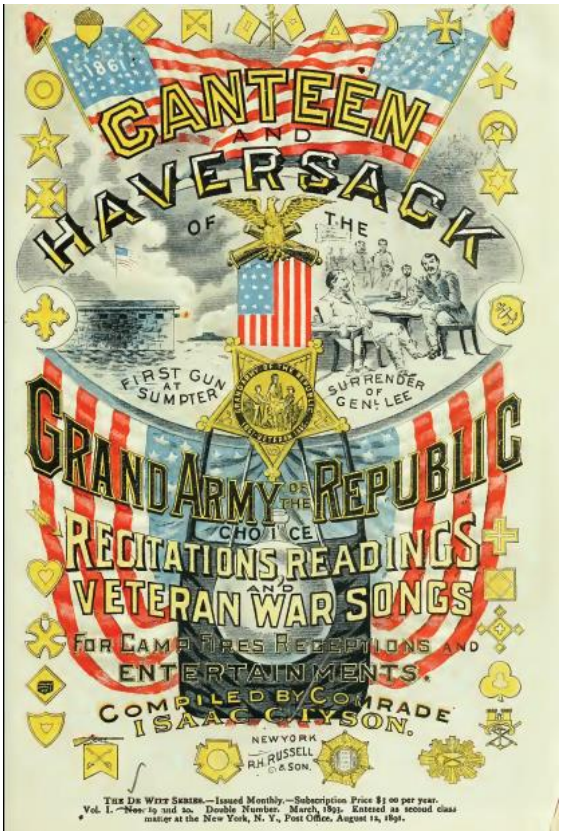
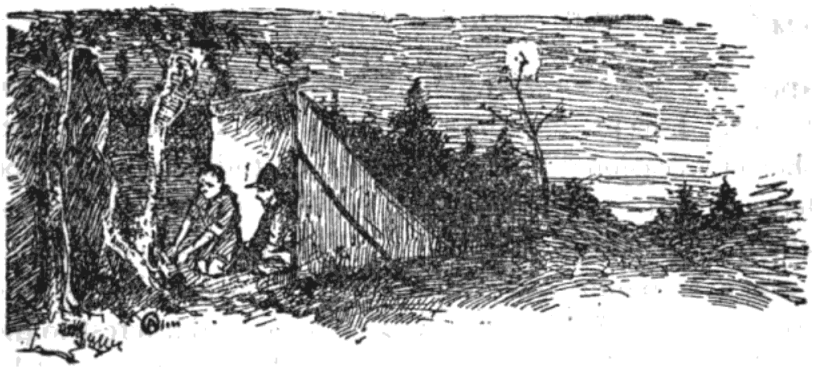


Figure 7.19: Norman Rockwell, *A Modern Boy Scouts' Patrol Camp,* from *The Boy Scout's Hike Book*, 1920.

Figure 7.20: Norman Rockwell, *Lean-To Cheer and Comfort*, from *The Boy Scout's Hike Book*, 1920.



Lean-To Cheer and Comfort

Figure 7.21: Norman Rockwell, from "Peter and the Game of War" in *Boy's Life*, May 1914.

"LONG TRAINS OF WHITE-TOPPED WAGONS"

Figure 7.22: Waltham Watch Company advertisement, *The Handbook for Boys*, 1911.

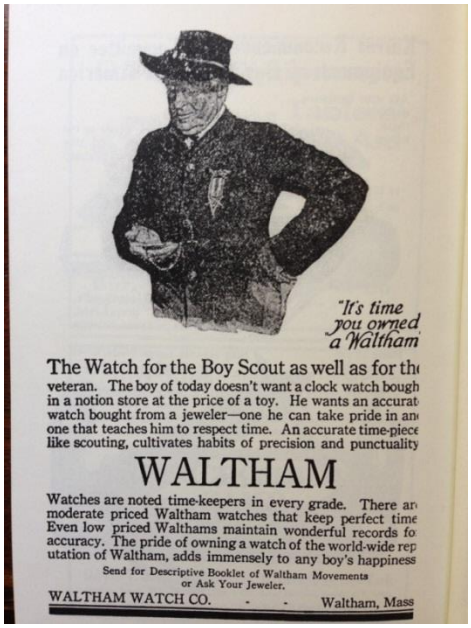


Figure 7.23: Norman Rockwell, *"I'd Give My Other Leg. . ."* from *The Boy Scout's Hike Book,* 1920.

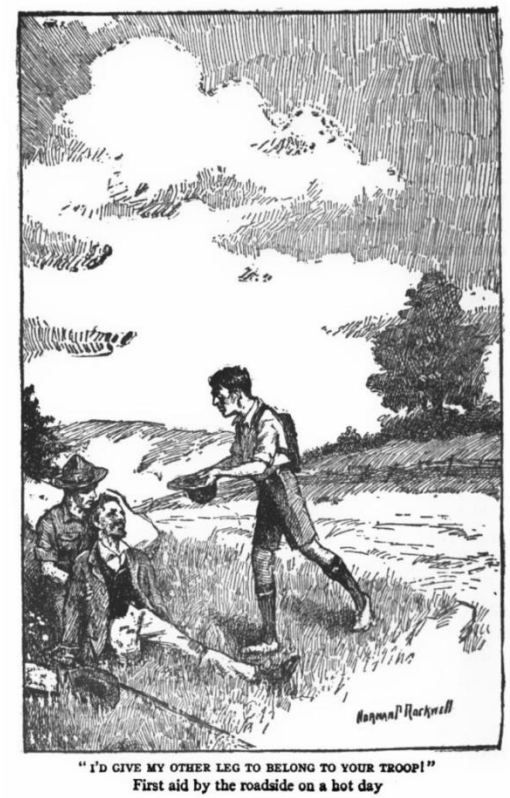


Figure 7.24: And a Child Shall Lead Them, 1913.

Figure 7.25: Veteran Scout and his Boy Admirers, 1913.

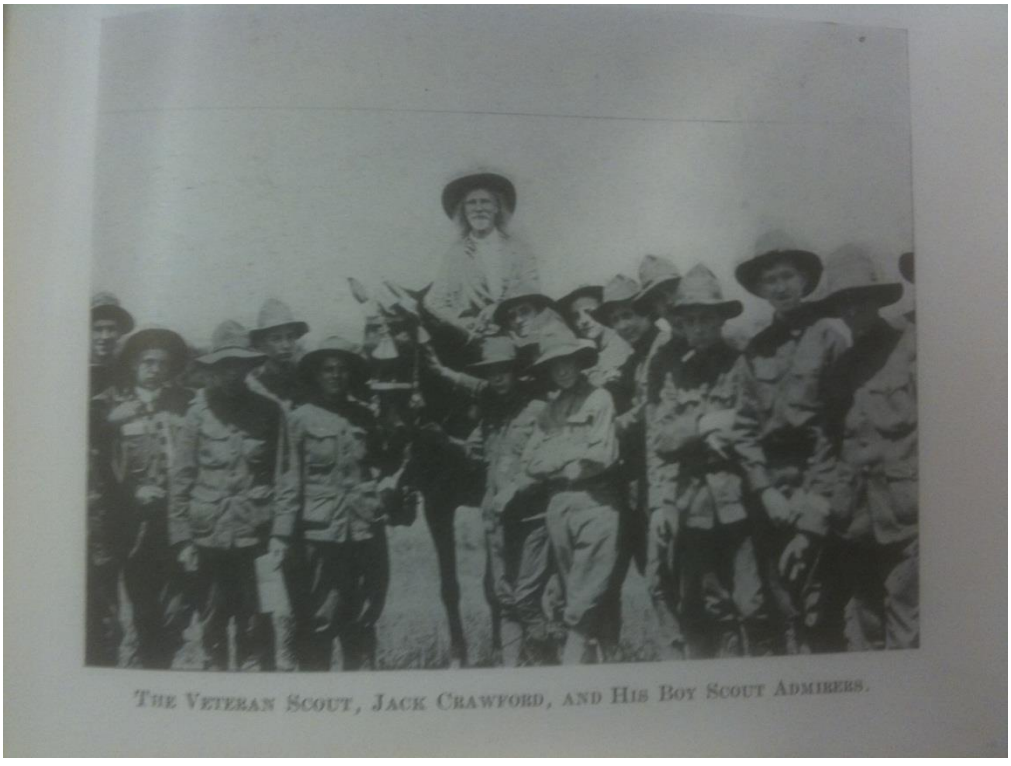
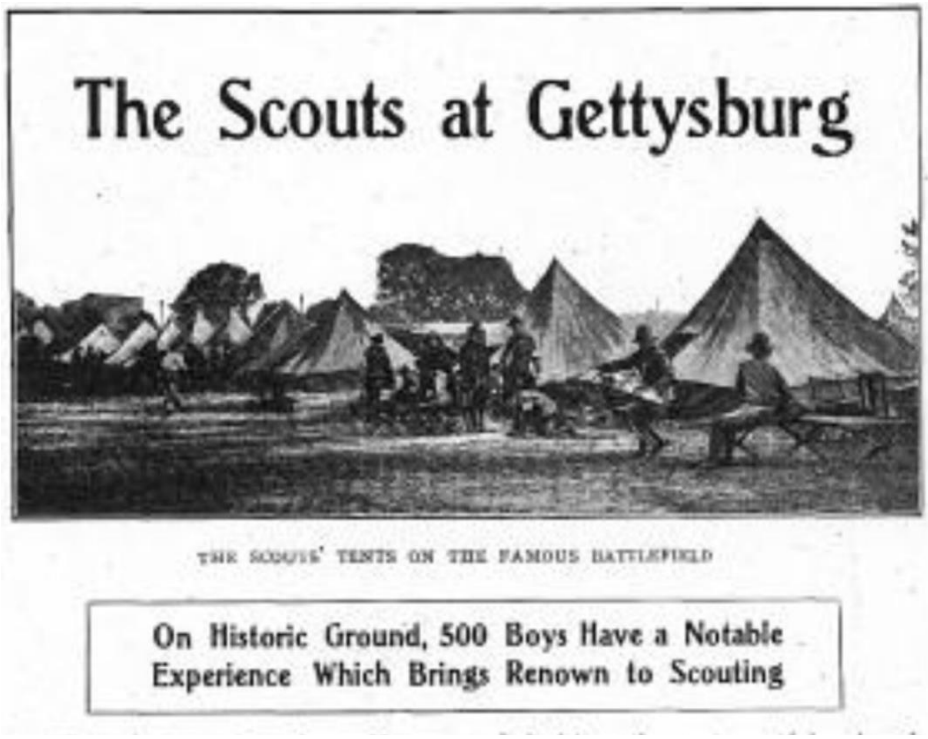


Figure 7.26: Boy Scouts at Gettysburg, Library of Congress, 1913.

Figure 7.27: "The Scouts at Gettysburg", *Boy's Life*, September 1913.



The Scouts at Gettysburg

THE SCOUTS' TENTS ON THE FAMOUS BATTLEFIELD

On Historic Ground, 500 Boys Have a Notable Experience Which Brings Renown to Scouting

Figure 7.28: Winslow Homer, *Home Sweet Home*, 1863.

Figure 7.29: Norman Rockwell, *The Scoutmaster*, 1956.

Chapter 8 Images

Figure 8.1: *New York Times,* September 22, 1912.

DR. SARGENT STARTS A CAMP TO MAKE GIRLS HEALTHY

Strenuous Life Is the Order of the Day at the New Summer School Near Peterboro, N. H., Which the Harvard Expert Has Organized.

Figure 8.2: William Preston Phelps, *Mount Monadnock*, 1900.

Figure 8.3: Abbott H. Thayer, *Monadnock in Winter*, 1904.

Figure 8.4: Abbott H. Thayer, *Monadnock Angel*, 1919.

Figure 8.5: E.O. Putnam, *Leaving East View Station for Sargent Camp*, post card, 1912.

Figure 8.6: E.O. Putnam, *A View at Sargent Camp*, post card, 1912.

Figure 8.7: Panoramic images of Sargent Camp, *1913-1914 Sargent School Handbook*, 1913.

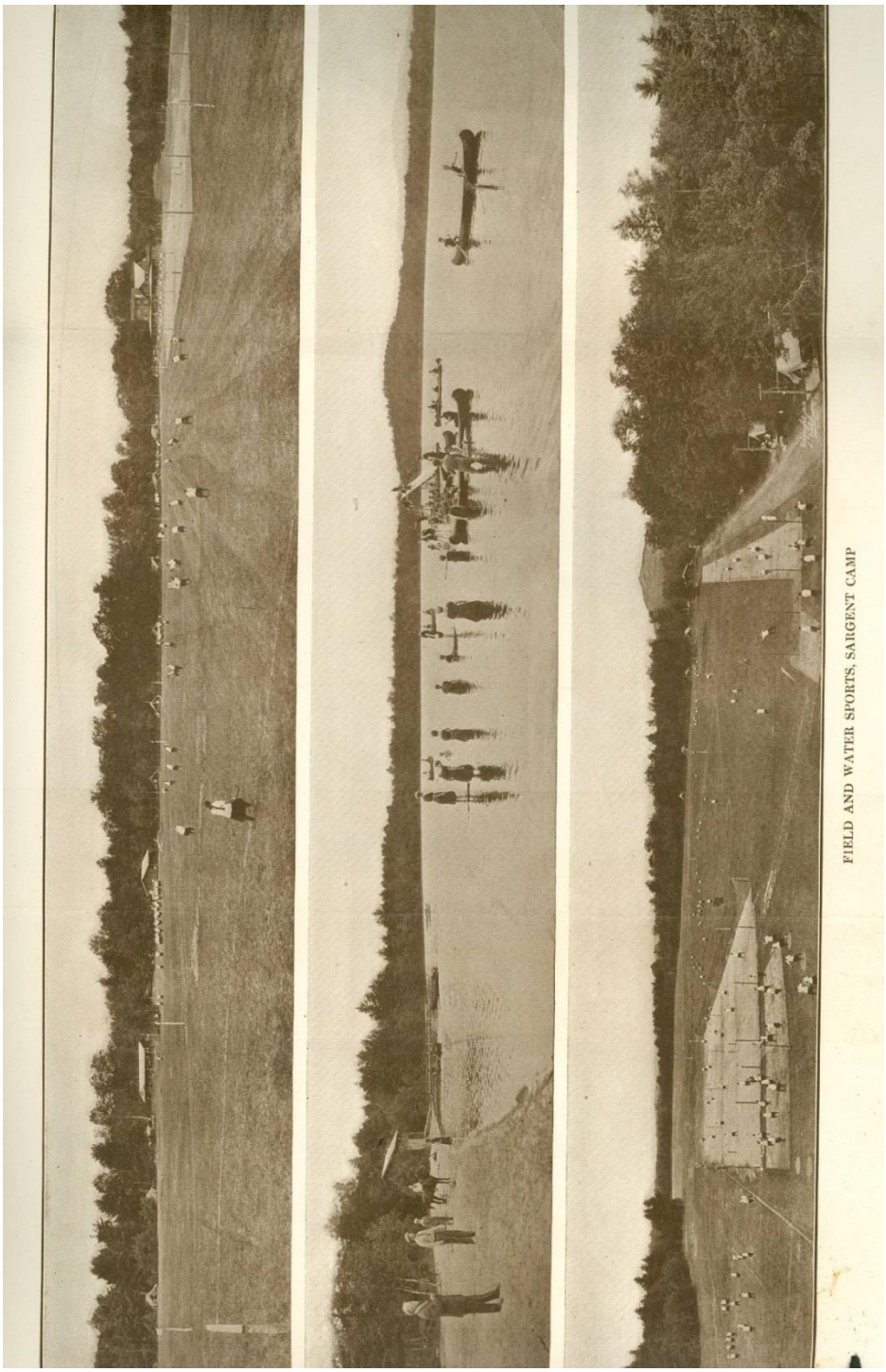


Figure 8.8: *The Tip-Top House*, Virginia Littlefield Scrapbook, 1925.

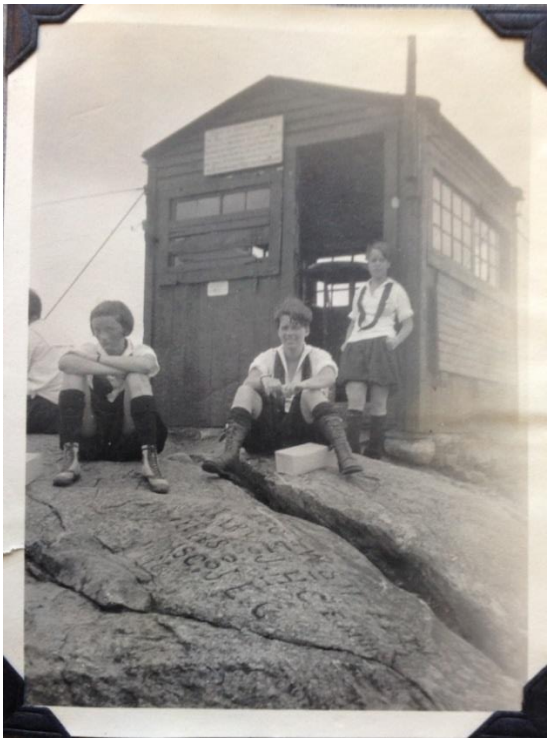


Figure 8.9: *Basket Ball Sargent Camp*, 1916.

Figure 8.10: *Fencing at Sargent Camp*, 1916.

Figure 8.11: *Soccer Foot Ball Sargent Camp*, 1912.

Figure 8.12: *Cross Ball Sargent Camp*, 1916.

Figure 8.13: *Hockey Sargent Camp*, 1916.

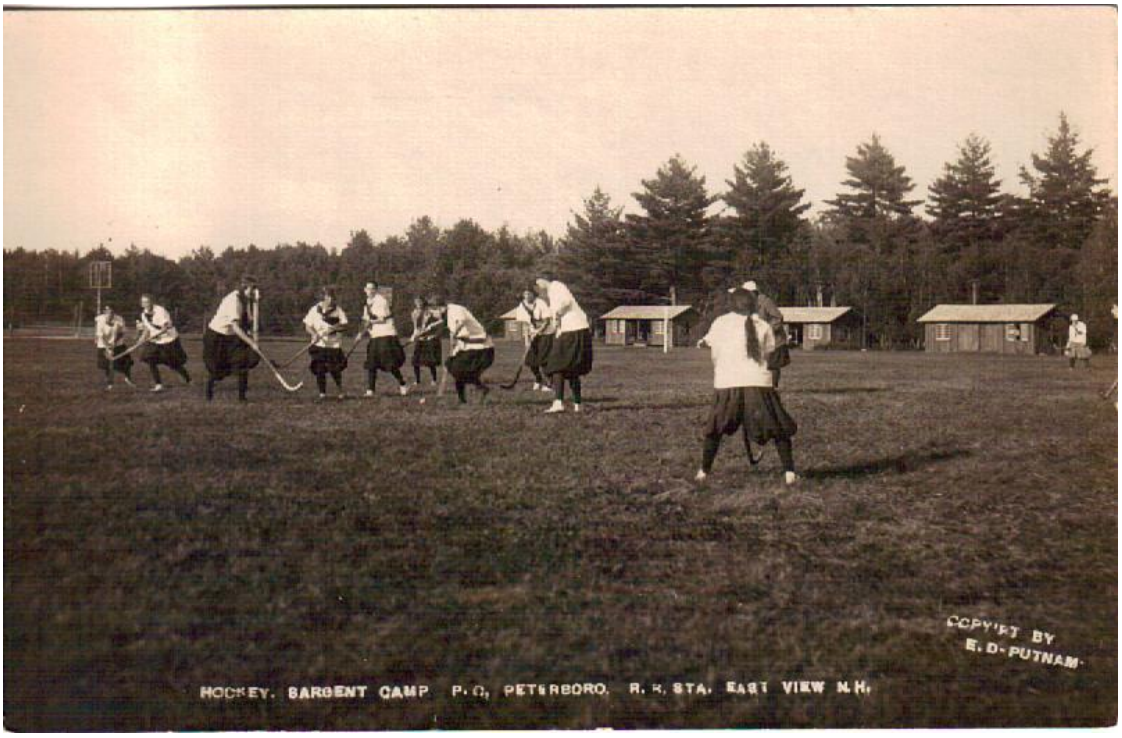


Figure 8.14: *Sargent Camp Map*, Sargent Camp for Girls Brochure, 1921.

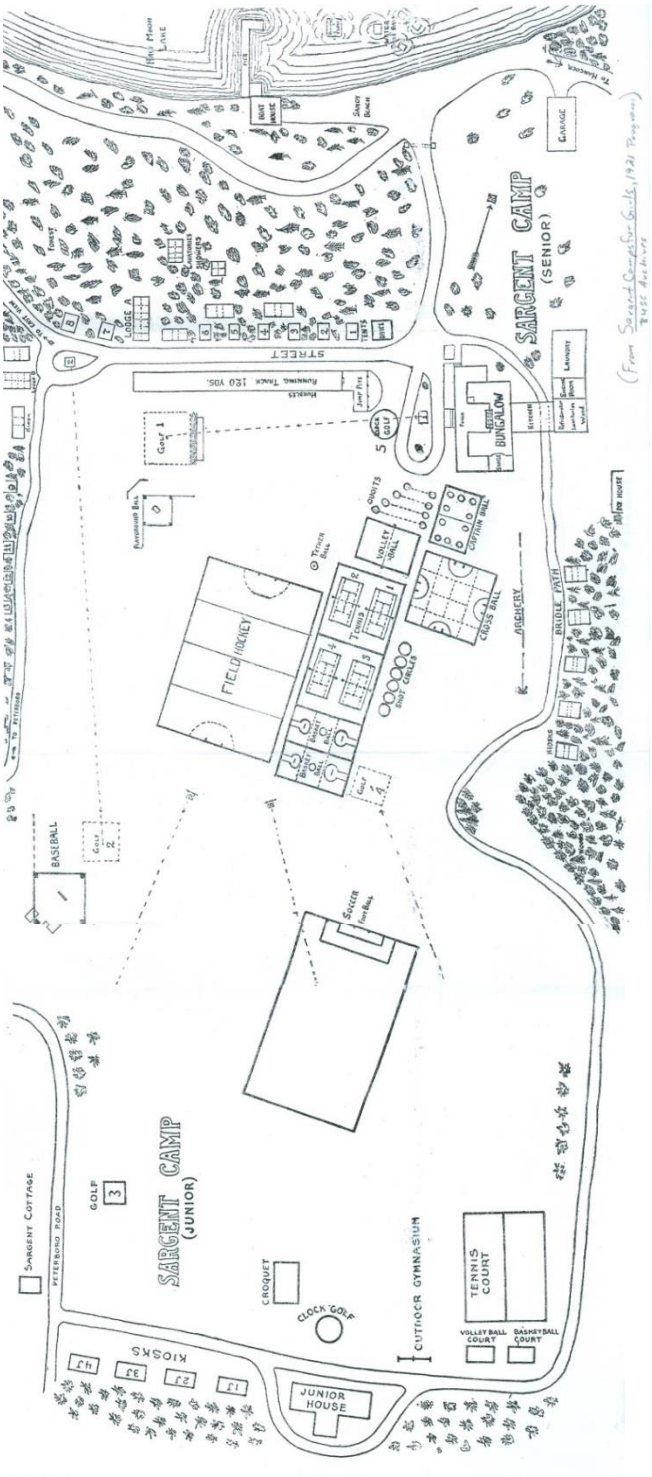
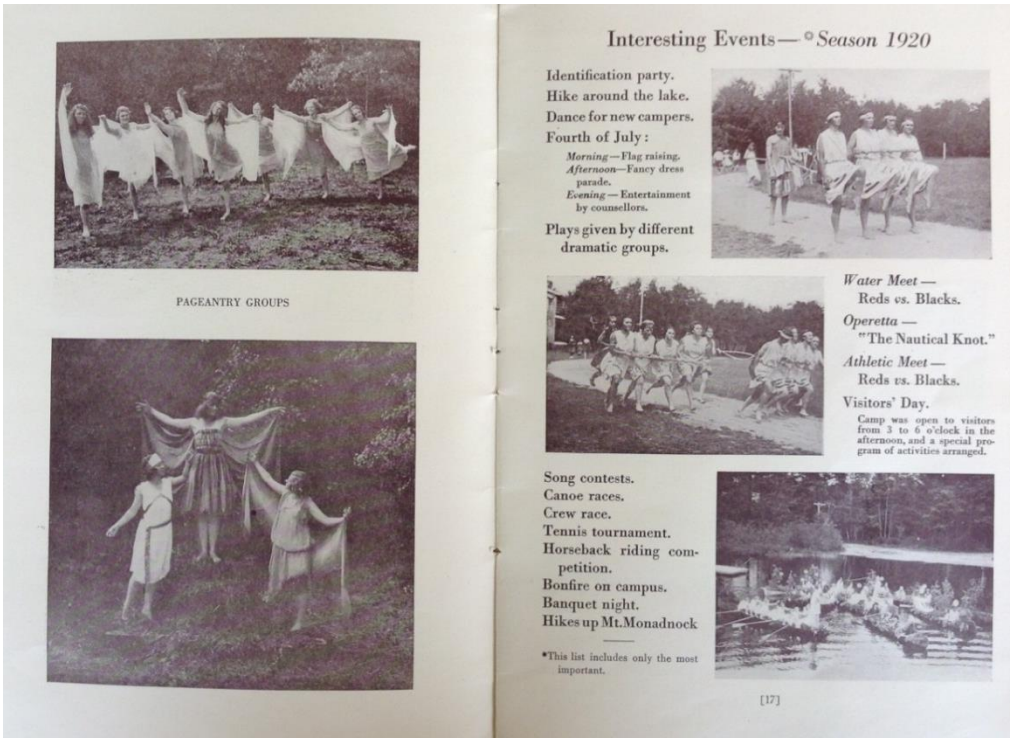


Figure 8.15: Page from Eleanor Doty's Sargent Camp Scrap Book.

Figure 8.16: *Sargent Camps for Girls brochure*, 1921.



PAGEANTRY GROUPS

Interesting Events — *Season 1920*

Identification party.
Hike around the lake.
Dance for new campers.
Fourth of July:
Morning — Flag raising.
Afternoon — Fancy dress parade.
Evening — Entertainment by counsellors.
Plays given by different dramatic groups.

Water Meet — Reds *vs.* Blacks.
Operetta — "The Nautical Knot."
Athletic Meet — Reds *vs.* Blacks.
Visitors' Day.
Camp was open to visitors from 3 to 6 o'clock in the afternoon, and a special program of activities arranged.

Song contests.
Canoe races.
Crew race.
Tennis tournament.
Horseback riding competition.
Bonfire on campus.
Banquet night.
Hikes up Mt. Monadnock

*This list includes only the most important.

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Figure 8.17: *The Half Moon*, 1925.

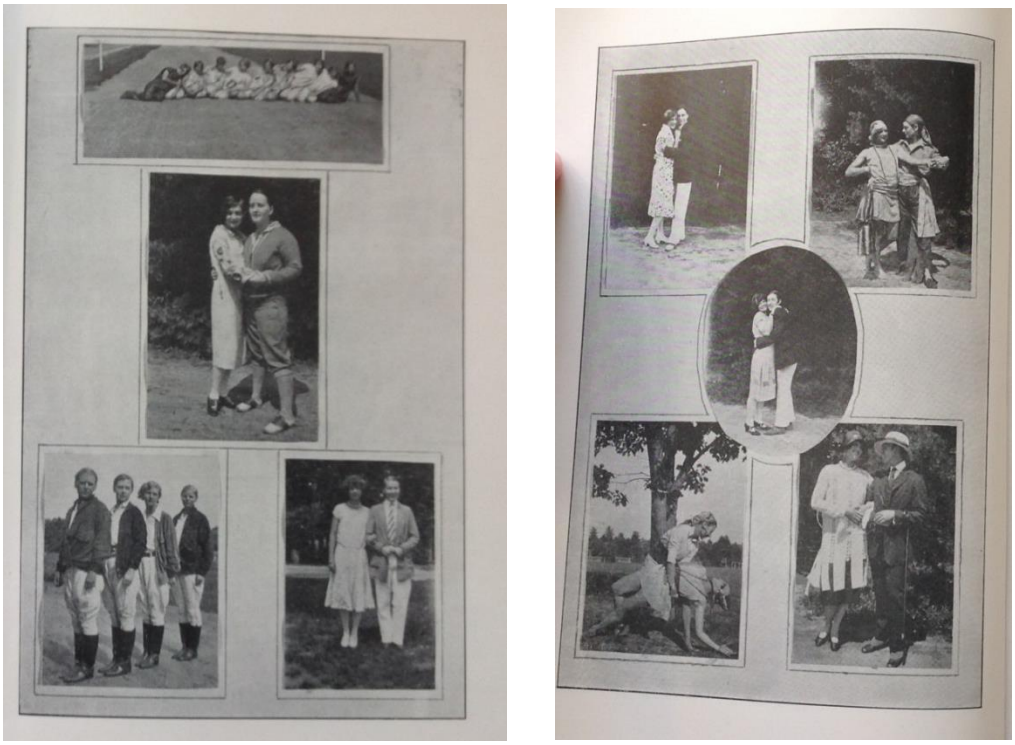

Figure 8.18: *The Counsellor's Show*, Virginia Littlefield's Scrap book, 1925.

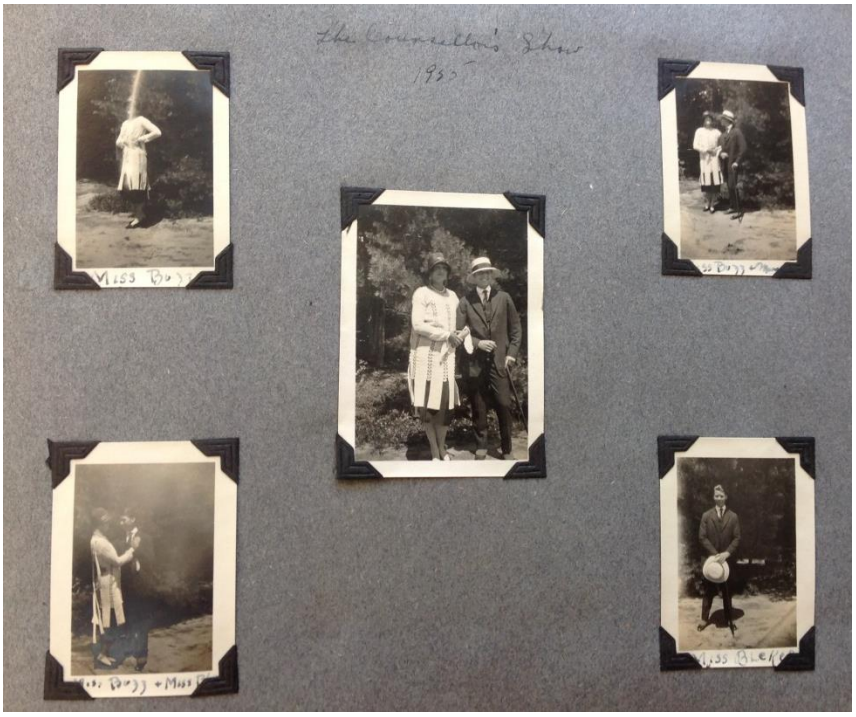

Figure 8.19: *Dr. Sargent and a Winning Crew*, 1912.

Figure 8.20: *Water Sports at Sargent Girls Camp*, 1912.

Figure 8.21: *Water Sports Sargent School Camp*, 1912.

Figure 8.22: *War Canoe Race*, 1912.

Figure 8.23: Swallow *Dive*, 1912.

Figure 8.24: Page from Eleanor Doty's Sargent Camp Scrap Book.

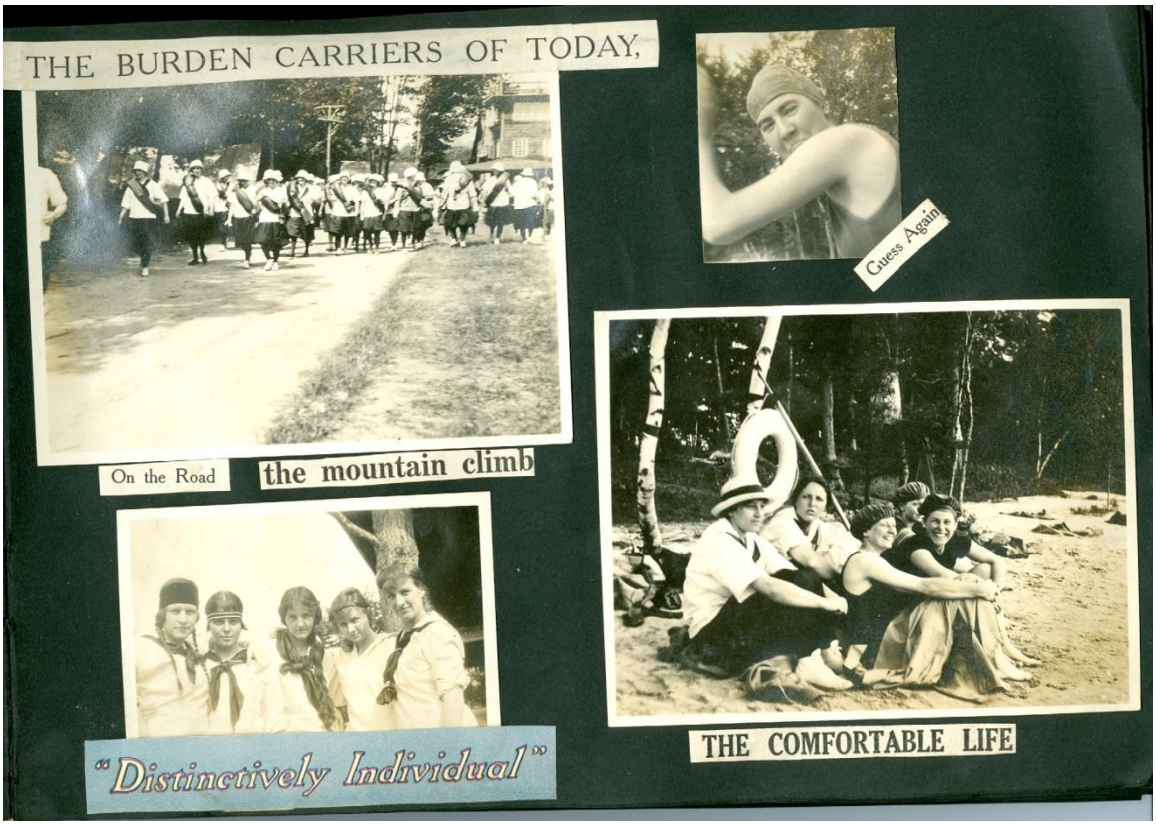

Figure 8.25: Page from Eleanor Doty's Sargent Camp Scrap Book.

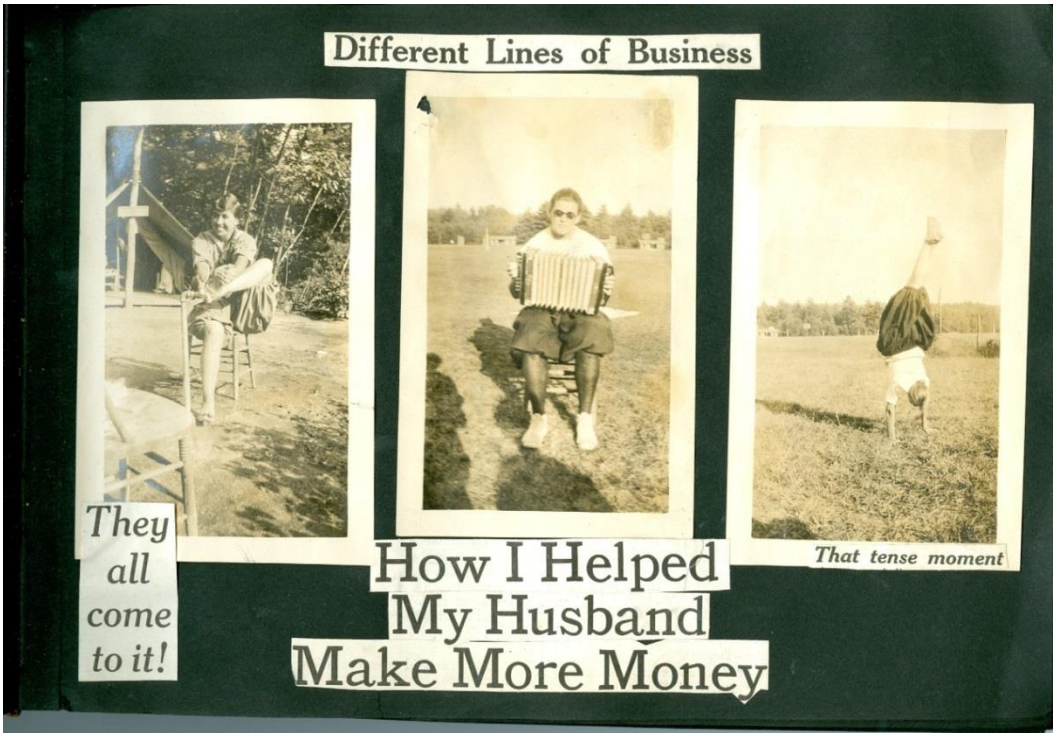

Figure 8.26: Page from Eleanor Doty's Sargent Camp Scrap Book.

Figure 8.27: Page from Eleanor Doty's Sargent Camp Scrap Book.

Figure 8.28: Page from Eleanor Doty's Sargent Camp Scrap Book.

Figure 8.29: Photo from Eleanor Doty's Sargent Camp Scrap Book.

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Facilitator *High Five Adventure Learning Center, Brattleboro, VT (April 2010 – Present).*

Experience Based Training Manager *Boston University Metropolitan College, Boston, MA (September 2009 – June 2013).*

Adjunct Lecturer *Boston University School of Management, Boston, MA (September 2009 – June 2013).*

Assistant Conference Coordinator *Boston University Sargent Center for Outdoor Education, Hancock, NH (June 2005-August 2009).*

Adjunct Instructor *New England College, Henniker, NH (Spring 2007).*

Coordinator of Outdoor Adventure and Leadership Development Programs *Lynchburg College, Lynchburg, VA (June 2001-May 2005).*

Adjunct Instructor *Lynchburg College, Lynchburg, VA (Fall 2003-May 2005).*

Graduate Assistant *MSU-Mankato Adventure Education Program, Mankato, MN (Fall 2000-Spring 2001).*

Program Coordinator *Office of Experiential Education, Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, PA (Fall 1998-Spring 2000).*

PUBLICATIONS

"Summer Camps" in *Encyclopedia of Youth Cultures in America.* Edited by Simon Bronner, Mary Napoli, Cindy Dell Clark. ABC-CLIO: Santa Barbara, CA, forthcoming.

"Wilderness Settlements: Early Twentieth Century Outdoor Education at the North Bennett Street Industrial School" *The Journal of the North End Historical Society.* 1 March 2012.

Reviewed for Publisher: Steve Simpson, *Beyond Experience and Education: An Exploration Into the Philosophy of John Dewey*. Wood and Barnes: Oklahoma City, 2012.

"Beyond the Ropes: Expanding the Use of Adventure Education in Group Development" (with Heidi Scheusner) *Campus Activities Programming*. September, 2006.

RECENT PRESENTATIONS

Thompson Island: An Island Republic of Youth *Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife, Deerfield, MA (June 2015)*

The Intergenerational Experience in the Association for Experiential Education *Keynote Address for the Association for Experiential Education Northeast Regional Conference, Colebrook, CT (April 2014)*

Kicking it Old School: Games and Initiatives from the 19th Century Outdoor Education Movement *Association for Experiential Education Northeast Regional Conference, Colebrook, CT (April 2014)*

Expeditions in a Digital Wilderness: Applications of Technology in Experiential Education *Keynote Address for the Outdoor Orientation Program Symposium, Colebrook, CT (April 2014)*

Experiential Education in the Digital Age: Lessons, Visions, and Opportunities *Association for Experiential Education International Conference, Denver, CO (November 2013)*

Experiential Education in the Digital Age: Lessons, Visions, and Opportunities *Association for Experiential Education Northeast Regional Conference. Beckett, MA (April 2013)*

Corporate Teambuilding 101: Making the Transition from Youth to Adult Facilitation *Association for Experiential Education Northeast Regional Conference. Beckett, MA (April 2013)*

From Canvas to Campfire: The Prehistory of Outdoor Education in 19th Century Art *Gordon College WILD Semester*. Gloucester, MA (December 2012)

100 Years of Sargent Center *Keynote for the Centennial Event of Sargent Center. Hancock, NH (June 2012)*

Tenting on the Old Camp Ground: Civil War Memory and the Early Outdoor Education Movement *Association for Experiential Education Northeast Regional Conference. Woodstock, CT (April 2012)*

Virtual Teambuilding *Center for Excellence and Innovation in Teaching, Boston University. Boston, MA (April 2012)*

Light and Fast Facilitation: Mobile Teambuilding Activities from the T to the Trail *American Camp Association New England Conference. Manchester, NH (March 2012)*

Teambuilding 101: Initiatives and Activities for New Staff *American Camp Association New England Conference. Manchester, NH (March 2012)*

Experiential Education in the Digital Age: Lessons, Visions, and Opportunities *Association for Challenge Course Technologies National Conference, Boston, MA (February 2012)*

Choices, Challenges, and Great Adventures *Keynote Address for the Berkshire County Compact 8th Grade Career Fair. Massachusetts College of Liberal Arts, North Adams, MA (January 2012)*

Tenting on the Old Camp Ground: Civil War Memory and the Early Outdoor Education Movement *Legacy of the Civil War Interdisciplinary Conference. Chestnut Hill College. Philadelphia, PA (November 2011)*

The Urban Adventure Classroom: Technology, Teambuilding, and Place-Based Experiential Education *Connecting for Change Conference. New Bedford, MA (October 2011)*

The Urban Adventure Classroom: Technology, Teambuilding, and Place-Based Experiential Education *Boston University Metropolitan College Town Meeting. Boston, MA (May 2011)*

From Canvas to Campfire: The Prehistory of Outdoor Education in 19th Century Art *Association for Experiential Education Northeast Regional Conference. Beckett, MA (April 2011)*

Teambuilding 101: Initiatives and Activities for New Staff *American Camp Association New England Conference. Manchester, NH (March 2011)*

From Canvas to Campfire: The Prehistory of Outdoor Education in 19th Century Art *American Camp Association New England Conference. Manchester, NH (March 2011)*

Light and Fast Facilitation: Mobile Teambuilding Activities from the T to the Trail *American Camp Association New England Conference. Manchester, NH (March 2011)*

The Urban Adventure Classroom: Technology, Teambuilding, and Place-Based Experiential Education *Boston University Center for Excellence in Teaching. Boston, MA (February 2011)*

Building Better Teams: Exploring Team Dynamics through the GPS Urban Adventure *Organizational Behavior Teaching Conference. Albuquerque, NM (June 2010)*

From Canvas to Campfire: The Prehistory of Outdoor Education in 19th Century Art *Association for Experiential Education Northeast Regional Conference. Nobleboro, ME (April 2010)*

Waypoints to Adventure: Using GPS Technology to Connect Participants to Place *Association for Experiential Education Northeast Regional Conference. Nobleboro, ME (April 2010)*

Common Ground: Connecting to Place with GPS and Adventure Education *American College Personnel Association Annual Conference. Boston, MA (March 2010)*

Common Ground: A GPS-Based Urban Adventure Teambuilding Program *Preconference for the American College Personnel Association Annual Conference. Boston, MA (March 2010)*

Common Ground: A GPS-Based Urban Adventure Exploring the City of Boston *Preconference for National Orientation Directors Association National Conference. Boston, MA (October 2008)*

Exploring Common Ground: Using GPS and Adventure Education to Connect to Place *National Orientation Directors Association National Conference. Boston, MA (October 2008).*

"Learn Where You Are" with GPS in Hand: Using Technology to Connect to Place *Preconference for Association for Experiential Education Northeast Regional Conference. Hancock, NH (April 2008).*

Waypoints for Adventure: Using GPS Programming for Experiential Education *Association for Experiential Education Northeast-MidAtlantic Regional Conference. Frost Valley YMCA, NY (April 2007).*

Leave No Trace Ethics *American Camp Association, New England 2006 Conference. Manchester, NH (March 2007).*

Navigating the Concrete Jungle: Combining GPS & Adventure Programming in an Urban Environment *Association for Experiential Education International Conference. St. Paul, MN (November 2006).*

Magic, Myth & Metaphor: Looking for New Ways to Enrich Learning in the Backcountry *Association for Experiential Education International Conference. St. Paul, MN (November 2006).*

Meet and Greet Welcome Session *Students Against Destructive Decisions (SADD) National Conference. Cambridge, MA (July 2006).*

The Adventure Trainer's Tool Box *Students Against Destructive Decisions (SADD) National Conference. Cambridge, MA (July 2006).*

Magic, Myth, and Metaphor: Honing your Briefing Skills to Enrich Learning *Association for Experiential Education Northeast Regional Conference. Bolton, VT (April 2006).*

Leave No Trace *American Camp Association, New England 2006 Conference. Manchester, NH (March 2006).*

Magic, Myth, and Metaphor *American Camp Association, New England 2006 Conference. Manchester, NH (March 2006).*